

**Identity Development and Separation-Individuation in
Relationships between Young Adults and Their Parents –
A Conceptual Integration**

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Dedicated to



Prof. Dr. Werner Deutsch

1947 – 2010

Danke, dass ich dir begegnen durfte.

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*It's not time to make a change,
Just relax, take it easy
You're still young, that's your fault,
There's so much you have to know
Find a girl, settle down, if you want you can marry
Look at me, I am old but I'm happy*

*I was once like you are now
And I know that it's not easy
To be calm when you've found
Something going on
But take your time, think a lot, think of everything you've got
For you will still be here tomorrow but your dreams may not*

*How can I try to explain, 'cause when I do he turns away again
It's always been the same, same old story
From the moment I could talk, I was ordered to listen
Now there's a way and I know that I have to go away
I know, I have to go*

*It's not time to make a change,
Just sit down, take it slowly
You're still young, that's your fault,
There's so much you have to go through
Find a girl, settle down, if you want you can marry
Look at me, I am old but I'm happy*

*All the times that I've cried keeping all the things I knew inside
It's hard, but it's harder to ignore it
If they were right I'd agree, but it's them they know, not me
Now there's a way and I know that I have to go away
I know, I have to go*

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Some people first find it hard to make sense of this famous song by Cat Stevens¹ and wonder why the words “father and son” do not appear in it. Then they may realize that it contains two voices, the voice of the father and the voice of the son. And these voices tell different stories about what it takes to grow up. The father gives advice from his senior perspective and wants the son to slow down and take time to make reasonable choices, meaning choices that worked out for himself (getting married and settling down). The son, on the other hand, struggles to get through to his father, to tell him that he needs to jump at the chance to go his own way now and define who he is, his individual identity, guided by his own will, values, and beliefs.

Erikson (1968) defined a subjective sense of identity as “the awareness of the fact that there is a selfsameness and continuity to the ego’s synthesizing methods, the *style of one’s individuality*, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one’s *meaning for significant others* in the immediate community” (p. 50). This definition indicates that identity emerges within relationships and not separate from them. As McAdams (2001, p. 116) put it: “the person and the person’s social world coauthor identity”. In Stevens’ lyrics, the father’s advice to his son does not correspond with what the son himself regards as meaningful for his life and the awareness of this discrepancy appears to have emerged over time: As a child, he was “ordered to listen” but now he finds it hard to ignore his own thoughts and strives to escape the child identity imposed by his parents.

In Erikson’s (1968) stage model of psychosocial development, the installment of a sense of will, purpose and competence in children up to the primary school years is highly dependent on recognition from idealized identification figures (Kroger, 2004). Therefore, a process of separation-individuation needs to take place in adolescence, in which separation

¹ Stevens is now known by his religious name *Yusuf*.

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consists of an intra-psychoic disengagement from internalized, idealized images of parents (Blos, 1967; Kroger, 1998). Through an increasing awareness of differences between his own self and his father's self, the son in the song enters a process of re-balancing "that which is taken to be self and that considered to be other" (Kroger, 2004, p. 10) and thus re-defines his identity. Through the intra-psychoic disengagement from parents, adolescents become increasingly capable of independent self-regulation. However, the second step, of individuation, does not imply emotional detachment or complete independence, but rather the assertion and development of individuality within attached relationships (Smollar & Youniss, 1989). As Karpel (1976, p. 1) expressed it, individuation describes the "the increasing definition of an "I" within a "We."". Similarly, for Erikson, a mature sense of identity allows for intimacy with others without a fear of losing oneself in the union (see also Arseth, Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2009; Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010; Kroger, 2004). This intimacy then consists of a capability for dialogical interaction, based on mutual respect and trust and a non-intrusive engagement in each other's lives (e. g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Kroger, 2004). This applies to romantic relationships that are entered in adulthood as well as to relationships with parents.

The situation between father and son in the song reflects separateness and emotional detachment that have not (yet) been followed up by individuation. Both, father and son, deliver their personal standpoint without really responding to each other and the son feels ignored and resents the same old story that is continuously imposed on him. Rejecting his father's advice and life views and going away appears to be necessary to him in order to explore his own ideas about who he wants to be as an adult. This situation highlights that identity development is fundamentally embedded in parent-child relationships (e. g., Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Erikson, 1968;; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994; Pittman, Keiley, Kerpelman, & Vaughn, 2011; Stierlin, 1974).

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People come to make meaning of themselves through day-to-day interactions with their immediate environment (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a; Kerpelman, Pittman, & Lamke, 1997) and relationships with parents represent the earliest, proximal micro-social contexts in which significant others provide feedback relevant to the formation of a sense of identity (e. g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Pittman et al., 2011; Schachter & Ventura, 2008; Weinmann & Newcombe, 1990).

Most importantly, parents respond to the two fundamental identity needs of belongingness (= mattering to significant others and being integrated in a social-cultural context) and individuality (= being unique and different from others) through their positions as socializing instances (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Schachter & Ventura, 2008; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010) and primary attachment figures (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bowlby, 1969, 1973). A balanced satisfaction of these needs is a pre-requisite for healthy psychosocial development which is marked by the emergence of capacities that enable individuals to function adequately on their own, in interpersonal interaction, and in the broader context of society (Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974).

A sense of personal identity is a central capacity of psychosocial maturity. In Greenberger and Sørensen's conceptualization of psychosocial maturity, identity is placed on the intersection between individual and interpersonal functioning because it is a source of self-reliance (=absence of excessive dependence on others, sense of control over one's life, action orientation and willingness to take up responsibility for one's actions) and a pre-requisite for interpersonal functioning (= communication including perspective taking and empathy, trust including the ability to rely on others when necessary, and knowledge of roles including situation-appropriate role display and negotiation of role conflicts). In Social Investment Theory, the achievement of a mature identity based on identifications with adult

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social roles has also been associated with maturation in traits that allow for functional individual and interpersonal self-regulation (i. e., Emotional Stability, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness; Lodi-Smith & Roberts, 2007).

If parents thus pave the way that guides their children toward psychosocial growth the question that remains is whether and in what form they still play a role when their children, like the son in the song, are ready to pave their own way as young adults. The core scene described in Stevens' lyrics raises many questions about the further development of the son and the relationship to his father: Will the son succeed at finding his own way in life and forge an individual identity for himself? Is separateness a precursor for autonomy? Is autonomy a precursor for identity commitments? Will the conflict between father and son last into adulthood? How can changes in parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood be characterized and how do they relate to individual changes? Some of these questions have been addressed by previous research but some gaps remain that will be pointed to and empirically addressed in this dissertation.

Although *Father and Son* was written in 1970, its contents of inter-generational conflict ("It's always been the same, same old story"), increasing distancing from parents' teachings ("it's them they know not me"), and an urge toward self-determination ("I know that I have to go away") are timeless characteristics of changes in parent-child relationships and identity in the transition to adulthood. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that societal change over the last decades had its impact on the significance of these features for successful psychosocial maturation. Some decades ago, identity was still strongly ascribed by socially structured normative patterns that include gender, class, parent-child, and ethnic/racial distinctions as well as intergenerational obligations (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Côté & Levine, 2002). Also, settlements into adult roles took place much earlier than today. Arnett (2004a, p. 3) noted that in industrialized, Western societies like the USA, "As

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recently as 1970, the typical 21-year-old was married or about to be married, caring for a newborn child or expecting one soon, done with education or about to be done, and settled into a long-term job or the role of full-time mother.” This implies that in these times it would have been very unusual and relatively difficult for a child to break away from parents (like the son in the song) and explore the world, instead of stepping into parents’ footsteps because individuality was not as highly esteemed as it is today and intergenerational continuity and what is best for the family had a higher priority than freedom of choice and what is best for the individual (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996).

In contrast, today, “[i]n modern western culture, identity development is largely a do-it-yourself project” (Jorgensen, 2006, p. 625). Globalized, technocratic society, with its seeming limitless possibility of local and social mobility, has paved the way for more individualized, diverse, flexible, and fluid trajectories of occupational and private life (Baumeister, 1991; Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Côté & Levine, 2002; Fuchs, 2007). On the one hand, young people are faced with many more opportunities to deviate from their parents’ own life path than in previous generations. On the other hand, prolonged education and delayed settlements into adult roles cause financial dependence on parents and an in-between feeling (not child, not adult) to mark the lives of many young people up to their mid- or late twenties (Arnett, 2004a, b; Buhl, 2007; Kins, Beyers, Soenens, & Vansteenkiste, 2009; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008; Nelson & Barry, 2005). To progress from this in-between feeling toward an adult identity, issues of belongingness and interdependence on the one hand and individuality and autonomy on the other need to be actively negotiated between parents and children.

During young adulthood, where individuals first get a real chance to experiment with adult roles and experience personal autonomy, they might be easily overwhelmed by the ambivalence between remaining flexible enough to adapt (their social appearance) to context-

specific requirements and switch quickly between roles on the one hand, and developing and maintaining a continuous, context-independent sense of individuality and belongingness on the other (cf. Fuchs, 2007; Jorgensen, 2006). Therefore, a continuous and reliable embedding in self-validating relationships with parents may be a particularly valuable resource for identity development in young adulthood. Instead of passively bestowing values from their own socialization on their children, parents optimally engage in their children's identity development as active agents who mediate between the demands of society and the identity needs of the child (cf. Schachter & Ventura, 2008). Specifically, they support the child's efficient individual functioning through encouraging, attending to and accepting the child's autonomous opinions and life choices (e. g., Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994; Best & Hauser, & Allen, 1997; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1998; Hauser et al., 1984; Niemiec et al., 2006; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010). Consequently, it appears that today, the life period in which parent-child relationships may become crucially entangled with identity formation might be set more in young adulthood than in adolescence and that qualitative, interactional features of these relationship have a stronger significance for successful, psychosocial maturation than passively adopted features of social/family background.

Research on parent-child relationships in young adulthood and on their association with identity development in this life period is very scarce (cf. Nelson et al., 2007; Nelson, Padilla-Walker, Christensen, Evans, & Carroll, 2011). Although developmental trajectories of identity components and of separation and attachment in parent-child relationships have both been studied in relation to psychosocial adjustment in adolescence/young adulthood (Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010), developmental interrelations *between* identity development and separation-individuation have not been greatly considered so far. It will be shown in this dissertation that a fundamental overlap between these developmental tasks exists and has been indicated by theoretical

conceptualizations in the psychological literature. Specifically, in the theory section of this dissertation, a conceptual as well as functional integration of distinct components of identity development on the one hand and components of separation-individuation in adolescence and young adulthood on the other is undertaken. In large parts, this integrative, theoretical perspective has been worked into an article that was recently published in *Developmental Review* (Koepke & Denissen, 2012).

In the empirical part of this dissertation, a 2-wave longitudinal study will be presented in which associations between components of identity development and separation-individuation in young adulthood were investigated. In the second chapter, it will be sketched what the developmental components are and in what respects they have and have not been investigated in previous research. This is followed by a description of the contents of the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. The conceptualizations and empirical studies that are reported throughout the theory section comprised children of different age groups. To facilitate an appropriate developmental contextualization of findings, it will be specified whether adolescents (approximately 13-17 years of age) or young adults (approximately 18-25 years of age) were investigated. Nevertheless, when general references to parent-child relationships are made, they refer to child to the parent in terms of kinship rather than age.

CHAPTER 2: Persistent Shortcomings in the Psychological Literature on Separation

Individuation and its Associations with Identity Development

Structure and Developmental Course of Separation-Individuation

In the literature on separation-individuation, a long debate on what constitutes adaptive and maladaptive forms of separateness has led to refinements in definitions and empirical distinctions over the last 10 years (e. g., Beyers & Goossens, 1999; Beyers, Goossens, Van Calster, & Duriez, 2005; Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors, 2003; Buhl, 2008a; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Kins et al., 2009; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Noom, Dekovic, & Meeus, 2001; Parra & Oliva, 2009; Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2011). However, the attention drawn to structural components of separation-individuation, namely separateness-closeness, attachment-detachment, and autonomy-heteronomy, has not been followed up by many empirical investigations of how the components causally and functionally relate to each other over time.

From theoretical perspectives on separation-individuation in adolescence and young adulthood, a normative-ideal course of development can be derived. It leads from interpersonal dependence on parents and internalization and idealization of parents' as role models in childhood to separateness as interpersonal independence and intra-psychic self-other distinction in adolescence toward reciprocal, trustful relationships based on personal autonomy in young adulthood (e. g., Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Blos, 1967; Buhl, 2008b; Collins, Laursen, Mortensen, Luebker, & Ferreira, 1997; De Goede, Branje, & Meeus, 2009; Hauser et al., 1984; Kroger, 1998, 1985; Kroger & Haslett, 1988; Mazor & Enright, 1988; Meeus, Iedema, Massens, & Engels, 2005; Perosa, Perosa, & Tam, 1996; Quintana & Lapsley, 1990; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; White, Speisman, & Costos, 1983; Wintre, Yaffe, & Crowley, 1995). However, because the different approaches are rooted in different traditions of psychological research, namely psychoanalytical, social-cognitive, family

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systems, and self-determination theory, empirical investigations focused either on individual or interpersonal characteristics rather than on both so that findings only ever support single aspects of the normative sequence. In addition, almost all studies are cross-sectional and the upper age-limit of participants is the late teens/early twenties.

The studies that covered comparisons between age groups found that mutual attachment (including frequency of parent-child conflicts) and autonomy were stronger at this upper age limit than in early or mid-adolescence (e. g., Collins et al., 2007; Mazor & Enright, 1988; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; White et al., 1983; Wintre et al., 1995). Furthermore, an increase in mutual attachment and autonomy has been found to follow typical life transitions in young adulthood that are associated with vocational and relational identity formation (e.g., leaving home, cohabiting with a romantic partner, adjusting to college life, entering working life; Arnett, 2004a; Buhl, 2007; Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009; Kins et al., 2009; Lefkowitz, 2005; Masche, 2008; Wintre & Yaffe, 2000). Longitudinal studies suggested a mean-level increase in Separateness toward late adolescence/early emerging adulthood (Beyers & Goossens, 2002; DeGoede et al., 2009; Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005) and in intimacy, critical discussion, and converging goals between parents and children after life transitions in young adulthood. Parental intrusiveness has been found to decrease in young adulthood (mid-twenties to mid-thirties; Buhl, 2007; Masche, 2008).

Identity Development and Associations with Parent-Child Relationships

The rather static and de-contextualized identity status model developed by James Marcia (Marcia, 1966, 1980) as an attempt to operationalize Erikson's extensive psychosocial concept of identity development has been predominant in identity research until the late 90s (see review by Schwartz, 2001). Since then, a call for a stronger developmental and relational perspective has led to extensions and expansions of the model that highlighted dynamic

processes and social embedding of identity development.(for overviews see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a, b; Lichtwarck-Aschoff, van Geert, Bosma, & Kunnen, 2008; Schwarz, 2001)

Models that expanded upon Marcia's paradigm by capturing the social embedding of identity, mostly focused on macro-social structures and remained vague about how these translate into processes on the level of interpersonal relationships (e.g., Adams & Marshall, 1996; Côté, 1996; Kurtines, 1999; see also reviews by Schachter & Ventura, 2008; Schwartz, 2001). However, some approaches took on a dynamic systems perspective and stressed person-environment transactions as proximal causes of identity development (e. g., Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a, b; Hermans, 2001; Kerpelman et al., 1997; Klimstra et al., 2010; Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008). The general mechanisms proposed by these models have not been applied to transactions in concrete, developmentally important relationships, although parent-child relationships have often been named as the most prominent example (e. g., Cooper et al., 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Kerpelman et al., 1997; Klimstra et al., 2010).

A developmental sequence of identity has been proposed in a recent model of identity development by Luyckx and colleagues (Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, Beyers, & Vansteenkiste, 2005; Luyckx et al., 2008) who disentangled sub-steps of identity formation and identity evaluation. Specifically, an in-breadth exploration of identity options and commitments to certain options has been proposed to be followed by an in-depth evaluation of commitments and a subsequent identification with commitments if they fit. Three longitudinal studies indicated a general developmental trend toward increasing commitment making and commitment evaluation in young adulthood (Klimstra, Hale, Raaijmakers, Branje & Meeus, 2010; Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008).

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So far, there are only two studies that investigated how separateness, parenting and the components of identity development proposed by Luyckx and colleagues relate to each other over time (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Luyckx, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Goossens, & Berzonsky, 2007). And over the past 35 years, only a few more longitudinal studies occurred that assessed associations between parenting/attachment style and identity status or a general sense of identity clarity (see Meeus, 2011; Meeus & DeWied, 2007 for reviews).

All of these longitudinal studies covered mid- to late adolescent samples and therefore not the life period in which commitments to adult role and relationship transformations toward parent-child equality and mutuality fully develop. Furthermore, perceived parenting was assessed with regard to adolescence or childhood which may not reflect qualitative characteristics of parent-child relationships in young adulthood that are then relevant for separation-individuation and identity development (e. g., dialogical communication, self-disclosure, mutual respect). Treatment by parents that is perceived as appropriate and even supportive for a sense of identity (or psychosocial development in general) at an earlier age may become less relevant or even dysfunctional toward adulthood (cf. Arnett, 2004a; DeGoede et al., 2008; Nelson et al., 2007, 2011; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Daddis, 2004; Wintre & Yaffe, 2000).

The review by Meeus and DeWied (2007) covered associations between identity status/general sense of identity clarity and various measures of aspects of parent-child relationships in adolescence (e. g., Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Hansburg's Separation Anxiety Test; Hansburg, 1980; Psychological Separation Inventory; Hoffman, 1984; Emotional Autonomy Scale; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1987) that were found in different studies between 1976 and 2000. Overall, more associations were found in older, college/university student samples than in high school samples. This, at least, suggests a growing or changing significance of parents for identity development at a

higher age.

In sum, identity development in the context of parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood has not been sufficiently covered by previous research because longitudinal studies are rare, distinct components of separation-individuation as well as of identity development were not all comprised within one study, and investigations stopped at an age where real opportunities for identity commitments and qualitative transformations of the parent-child relationship are only about to emerge. It is the agenda of this dissertation to address these shortcomings. The specific content of the remaining chapters is outlined in the next sub-section.

Contents of Remaining Chapters

In Chapters 3, the psychological approaches to identity development and in Chapter 4 the psychological approaches to separation-individuation that were touched upon in this introductory chapter are reviewed in more detail. The theoretical conceptualizations and empirical operationalizations of identity development and separation-individuation that are relevant to the empirical part of the dissertation will be described first followed by a review of research that 1) investigated change in components over time, 2) provided mechanisms of change, and 3) proposed determinants of interpersonal differences in development. In Chapter 5, the reviewed literature will be integrated into a developmental perspective that proposes causal associations between components of identity development and separation-individuation based on their potential developmental function for each other. At the end of Chapter 5, these propositions are summarized and formulated as testable hypotheses that were investigated in the empirical study that is presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Additional aims of the empirical study are also delineated at the end of Chapter 5. Because the three assessments conducted for this study built up on each other (pilot study; Wave 1 assessment; Wave 2: Re-assessment one year after Wave 1), methods are presented in an integrated fashion in Chapter 6. Cross-

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sectional and longitudinal results are presented in Chapter 7. A discussion of results and limitations of the study as well as recommendations for future research are presented in the final, eighth chapter of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3: Review of Psychological Research on Identity Development

Theoretical Conceptualization and Empirical Operationalization of Identity

The most widely known concept of identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood has been developed by Erik Erikson (1968) as part of his stage model of psychosocial development across the life-span. For Erikson (1968; Côté & Levine, 1987), identity development represents the main developmental task of adolescence which consists of solving the conflict between identity synthesis and identity confusion. An optimal identity development should lead individuals to an integrated, coherent and continuous picture of who they are in all their facets (e.g., ideology, occupation, social roles). This sense of identity falls into three components corresponding with different functions for sustaining self-coherence and self-continuity (Erikson, 1974).

Ego-identity refers to an essential awareness of being the same person across time and different situations which is due to a stable style of individual ego-functioning (see definition in the introduction; see also McAdams, 2001). The ego is herein understood as an agentic system that synthesizes experiences in terms of cognitive schemata. These schemata in turn help the individual to make meaning of and actively master new experiences. These synthesizing and executive functions become more elaborate during development because increasingly complex challenges are encountered (Côté & Levine, 2001). Côté and Levine (2002, p. 94) explained that ego-identity “develops on the basis of effective and meaningful social functioning and is initially dependent on the quality of recognition and support the individual receives from his or her community at the level of objective forms of personal and social identity [...]”. For Erikson, interaction with significant others and social institutions is the main source of strength for the ego [...]”. Personal identity refers to the identification with roles, values, beliefs, and life styles that mark a person’s individuality, whereas social identity refers to a person’s self-definition in terms of group belongingness and embedding in social

and cultural systems (Erikson, 1974; Schwartz, 2001).

Personal identity has been studied most extensively in research on identity development in adolescence and young adulthood (cf. Schwartz, 2001). It is also the component that can be assumed to be most centrally linked to the process of separation-individuation because it combines development of individuality with interpersonal connectedness through a shared understanding of roles and ideologies (cf. Adams & Marshall, 1996). Moreover, it has been empirically shown that personal identity is associated with a stable awareness of and certainty about who one is and what one wants as well as with the experience of one's environment and life events as meaningful, comprehensible and manageable and can thus be perceived as an indicator of ego-identity (Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008; Luyckx, Schwartz, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Goossens, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010).

In order to explain how personal identities are formed, James Marcia (1966, 1980) abstracted and operationalized parts of Erikson's extensive theory. He described four identity statuses as different ways in which adolescents may deal with the task of identity formation. A person's identity status is determined by a retrospective assessment of whether or not the person has undertaken an exploration of diverse roles, beliefs, values, and life styles and of whether or not subsequent commitments to certain options have been made. Four statuses emerge from this. *Achievement* is defined as the optimal status to be reached by young adulthood. It consists of stable commitments after a phase of exploration. *Diffusion* represents a lack of exploration and commitment. *Moratorium* is marked by a high level of explorative activity that has not (yet) led to commitments. *Foreclosure* represents a settlement in commitments with little previous exploration that is generally conformity-driven.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in a recent model of identity development proposed by Luyckx and colleagues (e. g., Luyckx et al., 2005), sub-components of the identity statuses

were disentangled in order to arrive at a stronger developmental perspective. These authors integrated two different conceptualizations of developmental cycles of identity exploration and identity commitment into a dual-cycle model. The first cycle of identity formation captures the distinctions introduced by Marcia: *Exploration in breadth (EB)* of various life options in identity-relevant domains and *commitment making (CM)*. The second cycle of identity evaluation is rooted in the works of Bosma (1985), Grotevant (1987), and Meeus and colleagues (Meeus, 1996; Meeus, Iedema, & Maassen, 2002). This cycle consists of “an in-depth evaluation of one’s existing commitments and choices [= *exploration in depth; ED*] to ascertain the degree to which these commitments resemble the internal standards upheld by the individual” [and of] “the degree to which adolescents feel certain about, can identify with, and internalize their choices [= *identification with commitment, IC*]” (Luyckx et al., 2008, p. 59).

This fit between commitments and internal standard is comparable to Waterman’s (1990, 1992) concept of personal expressiveness (see also Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006). Waterman observed that the quality of commitments differs between individuals in terms of how personally meaningful they are to them. He proposed that this personal meaningfulness is based in a feeling of optimal experience caused by individuals’ engagement in activities (i. e., in commitments) that optimally correspond to their individual internal potentials, which include intrinsic motivation and an internal locus of control. He termed this feeling of optimal experience *personal expressiveness*.

Luyckx, Goossens, and Soenens (2006) proposed that individuals alternate between identity formation and identity evaluation. If commitments are perceived as unfitting, the individual re-engages in identity exploration. In line with this, ED, IC, and CM have been found to be positively correlated with each other whereas EB diverged from this pattern because it was negatively related to CM (and unrelated to IC and positively related to ED; e.

g., Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006).

Therefore, EB has been “associated with a period of crisis and existential doubt about important life-choices, which precedes the actual formation of commitments” (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006, p. 372). However, from a recent review of longitudinal identity research in adolescence, Meeus (2011) concluded that studies systematically found negative associations between levels of and growth in EB and CM. Thus, he suggested a re-conceptualization of the link between the two from a developmental order to simultaneously operating, opposing forces that reflect Erikson’s originally proposed dimension of identity vs. identity confusion (see also Klimstra et al., 2010).

Mean-level as well as profile trajectories of the four components of identity development were investigated in three longitudinal studies covering adolescents (Klimstra, Hale, et al., 2010) and young adults (Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008). These studies provided important insight into potential progressive developmental changes in the identity as well as interpersonal differences in intrapersonal trajectories and will therefore be further described in the next sub-section.

Developmental Change in Identity Components

General mean-level change in EB, CM, ED, and IC over time as well as in constellations of these dimensions within persons have been investigated over a time span of five years in adolescents by Klimstra, Hale, and colleagues (2010; two samples: Mean age at Time point 1 was 12.4/16.7; annual assessments). Luyckx, Goossens, and Soenens (2006) and Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, and Beyers (2008) investigated identity change in young adults over a time span of three years (mean age at Time point 1 was 18.8; semi-annual assessments). In both, the studies by Luyckx and colleagues and the study by Klimstra and colleagues, intrapersonal stability of the single components or constellations of the identity components was very high indicating that individuals show persistence in their individual

pattern of identity formation and evaluation over time. On the level of means, the developmental trend for CM and ED was consistent with the assumption of progressive development: CM increased in the young adults of Luyckx and colleagues (vs. was stable in the adolescent samples of Klimstra, Hale et al.) and commitments were increasingly evaluated (i. e., there was an increase in ED in the adolescent samples of Klimstra, Hale et al. and in the sample of young adults used in both studies by Luyckx et al.). However, Luyckx, Goossens, and Soenens (2006) found significant variance in the initial level and rate of change of CM and ED suggesting that there are substantial inter-individual differences and that the mean trend might therefore not hold on the individual level.

The progressive trend for CM and ED also appeared in a cross-sectional study by Meeus et al. (2005) who compared levels of CM and ED in different age groups (age range: 12-24 years). In a cross-sectional study by Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, and Pollock (2008) with an age range between 18 and 30, age was also positively associated with CM. The association for ED (and for EB) was negative though. In this study, participants who perceived themselves as full-fledged adults also scored higher on CM and IC and lower on EB than those who did not consider themselves as full-fledged adults. This also supports the notion that movement toward commitments reflects a progressive, developmental trend.

In the longitudinal young adult sample of Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, and Beyers (2008), the general mean-level trend showed opposing curvilinear courses for EB (linear increase and negative quadratic slope toward the end) and IC (linear decrease and positive quadratic slope toward the end). This is consistent with the assumed cyclic nature of the identity model, according to which persons alternate between the formation and evaluation of commitments (Luyckx , Goossens, & Soenens, 2006): When commitments are perceived as unfitting, IC decreases while EB increases. The negative cross-sectional association between

age and EB in the study by Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, and Pollock (2008) further suggests, that the downward trend for EB might continue with age.

Interpersonal differences in profiles and their specific constellations were further explored in the study by Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, and Beyers (2008). The authors investigated intrapersonal patterns of changes in constellations of dimensions (= class trajectories). Four different trajectory classes were empirically identified, which were related to trajectory classes of adjustment (i. e., constellations of initial level and change in self-esteem and depressive symptoms). The class trajectory with the highest portion of optimally adjusted individuals was marked by high initial levels of CM, ED and IC, and the lowest level of EB (compared to the other trajectory classes). CM increased with age in this optimal class whereas IC and ED remained constant. Two other identity trajectory classes also contained a relatively high portion of well-adjusted individuals. They mainly differed from the optimal trajectory class in that they showed higher initial levels of EB or slightly increasing levels EB. The fourth class contained the lowest portion of individuals with an optimal adjustment and was marked by high initial and increasing levels of EB and high to moderate constant levels of ED. The levels of CM and IC were lower than in the other trajectory classes. CM remained particularly low over time and IC showed a slight u-curved course of development.

The differentiation of different trajectory classes demonstrates that not all young adults progress in identity development over time through forming and gaining certainty about their commitments. Some appear to remain wrapped up in uncertainty about what they want and if what they have engaged in really suits them. In an innovative micro-level approach to identity development, Klimstra et al. (2010) as well as Schwartz et al. (2010) could demonstrate that in early adolescents, fluctuations on a daily basis in whether they are satisfied with or look out for alternative identity options predicted lower identity certainty on a more global level (i. e., whether commitments provide general certainty or are often

reconsidered) as well as depression and anxiety. This lends further support to the assumption that some individuals consistently struggle with maintaining a stable sense of who they are, what they believe in and what they want and that this has negative consequences for (long term) psychosocial adjustment. This leads to the question about individual capacities that can be used to actively cope with self-uncertainty in interaction with one's social environment and thereby promote a sense of personal continuity and the formation of stable commitments in the long run. In several post-Eriksonian identity models, determinants of progressive identity development have been identified, these will be delineated in the next sub-section.

Determinants of Interpersonal Differences in Identity Development

Identity models that expanded upon Marcia's status model were mostly concerned with the social embedding of identity, meaning the fact that capacities needed for successful identity development depend on the requirements of the social context of development, and with the relation between an internal sense of ego-identity (i. e., a sense of personal continuity independent of context and situation) and the formation of personal identity (Côté & Levine, 1987; Kroger, 2003; van Hoof, 1999). The broadest model that subsumes both of these aspects and the determinants provided by other models (cf. Schwartz, 2001) has been proposed by James Côté (Côté, 1996, 1997; Côté & Levine, 1987, 2002).

Specifically, Côté integrated macro-social structure and individual characteristics in explaining identity development in context. Côté and Levine (2002) underlined that in post-modern times, identity exchanges take place between individuals and shifting (rather than continuous) social environments which "requires certain cognitive skills and personality attributes that are not imparted by human or cultural capital, and are certainly not imparted by mass/public educational systems." (Côté, 1996, p. 426). Côté (1996, 1997; Côté & Levine, 2002) subsumed these individual, psychological sources of ego-strength under the term *intangible identity capital* that enable individuals to navigate themselves in adult life contexts

in an agentic way. Most of the post-Eriksonian identity models (see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001b; Schwarz, 2001 for reviews) specified certain identity capital resources that determine inter-individual differences in identity development, for instance, self-esteem, self-monitoring, ego-resiliency and openness to experience/change (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001b; Côté, 1997; Grotevant, 1987), informational identity style (Berzonsky, 1992), creativity, suspension of judgment, internal locus of control, and responsibility for personal actions (Kurtines, 1999).

Findings by Schwartz, Côté, and Arnett (2005) suggested that an agentic personality supports the balance between firm commitments and openness to self-relevant social feedback. Specifically, they found agentic capacities (i.e., self-esteem, purpose in life, internal locus of control, and ego-strength) to be positively related to exploration, flexible commitment, and deliberate choice making but negatively to avoidance and aimlessness. They also identified two clusters of agency-identity patterns that could be discriminated by the criteria of an agentic personality, commitment making, and identity style. In particular, two aspects of agency, self-esteem and ego-strength, were associated with commitment making and low levels of diffuse/avoidant identity style and status. Exploration, on the other hand, did not differ between individuals high and low in agentic personality. From these results, Schwarz et al. (2005) concluded that it is not the quantity but the quality of exploration that differs between agentic and non-agentic individuals. The agentic participants in the study appeared to follow a more organized and directed pattern of exploring alternatives and making the most of their opportunities in order to settle for commitments. In contrast, the less agentic individuals appeared to indulge in an exploration that “may be an unguided, haphazard process that produces more confusion than it alleviates.” (p. 224).

Similarly, Luyckx et al. (2008) could differentiate between two qualitatively different aspects of in-breadth exploration – reflective exploration motivated by curiosity and epistemic interest (measured in terms of thinking about future plans) and ruminative

exploration motivated by fear and perceived threat and expressive of a chronic self-attentiveness (measured in terms of worries and doubts about and inability to stop thinking about the future). When ruminative exploration was controlled for, EB and ED showed no significant association with psychological stress (i. e., anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem). Also, only ruminative EB was negatively associated with CM and IC.

In another study (Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008), ruminative EB but not self-reflective EB and ED discriminated between young adults who perceived themselves as full-fledged adults and those who did not and only ruminative EB was negatively associated with the experience of one's environment and life events as meaningful, comprehensible and manageable. Two other studies that measured agency in terms of self-determinateness in late adolescence/early young adulthood found that it positively predicted CM and ED (in the domain of vocation; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005) and CM and IC (in the domains of friendship and vocation/study major; Luyckx et al., 2010).

Although these results suggest that agency determines the quality of identity exploration signified by the achievement of identity commitments and psychosocial adjustment, it has not been specified, how intangible identity capital resources develop in the first place and are reinforced or inhibited by social context. This includes the question of how context and individual concretely interact over time and which contexts are particularly relevant for strengthening the ego of young people on the verge of adulthood. As has been already indicated in Chapter 1, at this point, the micro-social context of parent-child relationships may come into play. Individual and relational components of separation-individuation that might become entangled with change in identity will be reviewed after the subsequent description of a general conceptual framework for identity development on the micro-level of person-environment transactions.

Mechanisms of Developmental Change in Identity: Dynamic-Systems Perspective

In a publication entitled *Identity and Emotion*, Bosma and Kunnen (2001a) presented a collection of conceptualizations of identity development with a strong dynamic focus. The authors argued that previous conceptualizations of identity, mainly those related to components of the identity status model (see review by Schwartz, 2001), are too cognitivistic and static because they perceive identity as a stable mental self-representation that conceptually overlaps with self-concept. These conceptualizations, so the further argumentation, do not account for the fact that persons come to make meaning of themselves through day-to-day interactions with their immediate environment. Therefore, identity should be conceptualized as “rooted in emotion, emerging in relationships, developing as a dynamic, self-organizing system” (p. 5).

According to dynamic systems theory, a system represents a complex network of elements and develops through self-organization of these elements. Higher-order elements are assumed to emerge from interacting lower-order elements. In relation to identity this means that micro-social transactions between individuals and their (social) environment (i. e., social feedback, emotional reactions and interpretations) promote long-term development (i. e., formation of cognitive frames for self-evaluation) and the emergence of macro-structures (i. e., a sense of identity). In transactions between the system and the external social context, new, identity-relevant information can either be assimilated in a bottom-up fashion (where the coupling of information leads to higher order structures over time) or in a top-down fashion (where higher order structures change or interpret the information in such a way that it fits in with the system). Or, if assimilation fails, the system needs to accommodate itself to the new information, which means that active reorganization takes place in a top-down fashion (see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a for a summary of these assumptions of a dynamic systems perspective on identity).

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The kinds of transactions that take place between an identity system and the social context in which it is embedded depend on the state of the system at a particular point in time. This last point has been specified by identity control theory (Kerpelman et al., 1997) which was developed to explain what reacts under which circumstances in an identity system and initiates processes of change. Specifically, Kerpelman et al. (1997) proposed a cybernetic model of identity in which an identity control system operates when an internal identity standard is disturbed by an external self-relevant feedback that is perceived as being incompatible with the standard. The control process is activated in order to restore or adjust the current identity standard. This process is expected to iterate until the identity standard is validated or modified.

Importantly, Kerpelman et al. (1997) noted that the social feedback that enters an individual's identity control system by being translated into a self-view "necessarily includes others who have their own identity control system" (p. 337). Similarly, Klimstra et al. (2010) who investigated daily fluctuations in identity argued that individuals do not live in a vacuum and that daily, reciprocal transactions between individuals need to be considered in relation to dynamics within their separate identity systems. Kerpelman et al. (1997) took the case of parent-child transactions during adolescence as a prominent example of two interrelated identity control systems, in which self-perceptions based on feedback from the other person can disturb the current identity standard. In the present dissertation, this conceptualization is used for describing how the process of separation-individuation might become entangled with identity development. This integrative perspective will be presented after a review of research that has been concerned with specifying components of separation-individuation and describing and explaining their change during adolescence and young adulthood.

CHAPTER 4: Review of Psychological Research on Separation-Individuation

in Parent-Child Relationships in Adolescence and Young Adulthood

Theoretical Conceptualization and Empirical Operationalization of Separation-Individuation

Separation-individuation has first been theoretically conceptualized from a psychoanalytical perspective (Blos, 1967, 1979; Freud, 1958; Kroger, 1998; Mahler, 1963, 1968) as an intra-psycho process that occurs during the first three years of life (Mahler, 1963, 1968). Separation refers to the dissolution of a symbiotic fusion between child and mother, which begins with child's awareness that the mother is as separate person and an internalization of the mother's self. This internalization allows for a physical separation between the child and the mother while internalized representations of parents still direct the child's behavior and self-perception (Kroger, 1998). Blos (1967) therefore proposed a second process of separation-individuation to take place in adolescence. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this process consists of a disengagement from internalized, infantile images of parents as omnipotent figures of authority which enables an increasing awareness of an individual self that is separate from others' selves and able to act and achieve goals by its own will and capacities. This sense of autonomy should allow for having close, attached relationships with others without fear of being engulfed by them (e. g., Erikson, 1968; Karpel, 1976).

Early operationalizations of Blos' description of separation-individuation include the Emotional Autonomy Scale by Steinberg and Silverberg (EAS; 1986) and the Psychological Separation Inventory by Hoffman (PSI; 1984). In these measures, autonomy has not been operationalized as a person-centered awareness of individuality, volition, and self-efficacy, but rather as a relationship-centered construct of interpersonal distance (vs. closeness) including independence in different spheres (PSI: functional, attitudinal, emotional, conflictual; EAS: functional), non-imitation of parents (vs. conformity; EAS), and secrecy

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(= intentionally hiding or keeping personal issues secret from parents and knowing that parents do the same vs. voluntarily disclosing personal issues to parents; EAS; see also Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006). Conceptually, this turned out to be problematic because the co-existence of personal autonomy and interpersonal closeness that marks individuation conflicts with a conceptualization in which autonomy is equaled with interpersonal distance (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Specifically, Ryan and Lynch (1989) were the first to show that high EAS scores are associated with feelings of uncertainty, perceived rejection and non-acceptance by parents and an unwillingness to draw on support from parents. These correlates indicate a loss or severance of a secure and developmentally supportive attachment to parents rather than indicating autonomy within attached relationships.

The question about whether there are developmentally adaptive and non-adaptive forms of separation became known as the “detachment debate” (Silverberg & Gondoli, 1996) and has been subject of numerous studies that tried to differentiate between normative-developmental separateness, autonomy, and problematic detachment (e.g., Beyers & Goossens, 1999; Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990; Kagitcibasi, 1996, 2005; Ingoglia, Lo Coco, Liga, & Lo Cricchio, 2011; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Parra & Oliva, 2009; Rice, Cole, & Lapsley, 1990). In three studies, the EAS was factor analyzed on its own (Beyers et al., 2005) as well as together with other measures of emotional attachment in parent-child relationships, interpersonal dependence (PSI), and autonomy (Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Beyers et al., 2003). The conclusion that can be drawn from these studies is that it is particular the aspect of secrecy in the EAS that reflects detachment through mistrust toward parents, perceived alienation from parents, and perceived ignorance of parents rather than a kind of mature self-other differentiation that allows for autonomy and attachment. Strong negative feelings indicating insoluble conflicts and a high frequency of conflicts with parents were also

associated with this sub-facet of the EAS (Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Beyers et al., 2003; Buhl, 2008b; Para & Oliva, 2009). The opposite pole of detachment, that is, secure attachment, has been empirically represented by feelings of mutual trust, acceptance and warmth in the relationship with parents (e.g., Beyers et al., 2003; Buhl, 2008a, b; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Kroger & Haslett, 1988; Quintana & Lapsley, 1990).

A dimension that could be empirically discriminated from the attachment-detachment continuum tapped into separateness in terms of emotional and functional independence as well as a non-imitation of parents which probably captures the internal disengagement from idealized images of parents that Blos referred to most closely (e.g., Beyers & Goossens, 2003, Beyers et al., 2003, 2005; Buhl, 2008b; Ingoglia et al., 2011; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Rice et al., 1990). Thus, it can be said that while attachment-detachment refers to the quality of the emotional relationship with parents, separateness (vs. closeness) is more concerned with the degree to which parents are 1) consulted for providing practical help and advice, 2) needed for providing physical closeness and emotional reassurance, and 4) are followed in their attitudes and imitated as ideal role models.

Concurrently, separateness has been found to be highly (Beyers et al., 2003) to moderately (Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Lamborn & Groh, 2009) negatively associated with attachment. In the study by Beyers et al. (2003), its distinctness from detachment was mostly signified by a positive correlation with agency as yet another component of separation-individuation. The dimension of agency stems from another direction of psychological research than the psychoanalytical and attachment theory-related constructs of separateness and attachment, namely Self-determination Theory (SDT; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2010a, 2011). In self-determination theory, autonomy represents the perceived independence of choice from external or internal pressure meaning that decisions are made volitionally and

based on intrinsic values, needs, and interests (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Self-determinateness does not necessarily imply that others are excluded from what one decides. The experience of being free to decide to rely on help from others or not is of central importance (cf. Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Van Petegem et al., 2010a). It has been proposed that agentic capacities are what enables individuals to locate the source and force of their actions within themselves and thus can be seen as indicators of autonomy (e. g., Schwartz et al., 2005).

Consequently, agency in contrast to separateness has been found to be positively related to attachment and also slightly positively related to separateness (Beyers et al., 2003; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005, Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2010a; 2011). In the next two sub-sections research on the development of attachment, separateness (as interpersonal independence) and autonomy (as agency) will be described that indicates how these components change and may functionally relate to each other over time.

Developmental Change in Attachment, Separateness, and Autonomy in Adolescence and Mechanisms of Change

During adolescence, the ability for formal operational thinking (Piaget, 1965) emerges which allows for an increasingly differentiated self- and other-perception, meaning the recognition of differences between the inner, psychological self, and the self perceived by others as well as of different aspects of the self (Mazor & Enright, 1988). Also, hypothetical thinking about the self in terms of who one could be, becomes possible (Dunkel, 2000; McAdams, 2001). A combination of cognitive development, physical changes of puberty and changes in societal expectations initiates a phase of transition in self-understanding and self-positioning in relationships with parents - “Childhood becomes the remembered past and adulthood the anticipated future.” (McAdams, 2001, p.102). The urge toward drawing a distinction between the parent-dominated child self and the personal self-ideal of the

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autonomous adult collides with still existent boundaries for self-exploration in parent-controlled environments (at home and at school).

Most adolescents are still legally and financially dependent on their parents and under their parents' constant surveillance through co-residing with them. In this situation, children possess little means to act autonomously and be socially recognized as adults, even though they may feel ready to take up responsibility for themselves (Arnett, 2004a, b; Buhl, 2007; Kins et al., 2009). In addition, they are cognitively still not able to simultaneously handle self-definition in terms of individuality and self-definitions in terms of attachment to others. This capacity for integration emerges toward early adulthood (Mazor & Enright, 1988; White et al., 1983).

Therefore, adolescents may feel threatened in their autonomy by any rules imposed on them by their parents' authority (cf. Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008) and are only able to set themselves apart from parents on an emotional level through a critical questioning of parents' teachings, rejection of parental authority, and reduced self-disclosure which expresses itself in a temporary decrease in emotional attachment (cf. Finkenauer, Engels, & Meeus, 2002; Mazor & Enright, 1988; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; Wintre et al., 1995). Finkenauer et al. (2002) suggested that, although keeping things secret from parents is associated with psychological distress and low relationship satisfaction, it also helps adolescents to create a "metaphoric boundary" (p.133) between themselves and their parents and that the voluntary regulation of this boundary gives them a feeling of self-determined independence.

When previous power relations in the parent-child relationship are shaken because children demand more authority over their own actions and start questioning parents' omnipotent position, it may take parents some time to adapt their perception and treatment of the child to the child's changing needs and to loosen some of the boundaries that have defined

their previous, dominant position. In research on parent-child interactions in adolescence, it has been shown that parents' perceptions of how mature their children are and the freedom they grant them in consequence often clash with children's own evaluation of their ability to act like autonomous adults (e. g., Collins et al., 1997; Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008; Nelson et al., 2007; Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al. (2008) argued that the reason for this might be that what children consider as restrictions to their personal autonomy is regarded by parents as a socializing practice in line with social norms that define an appropriate degree of autonomy for a certain age. This suggests that with increasing age of the child, boundaries need to be re-negotiated so that detachment with separateness can be replaced by attachment with autonomy. Whether this progressive change takes place appears to depend on how capable parents are of mediating between societal demands, their own needs and concerns, and the needs and capacities of their maturing children (cf. Adams & Marshall, 1996; Schachter & Ventura, 2008; Smetana, 1995; Stierlin, 1974).

In the optimal case, where this progression occurs, parents are able to weigh the rules they set in correspondence with the welfare of the child, societal concerns, and the concrete issue at hand, rather than principally claiming authority over everything the child does. Due to their ability for adaption, these parents should respond to their separating children by taking their (opposing) position in discussions seriously instead of ignoring or devaluating it and by purposefully granting them a certain amount of space for self-exploration. In this way, parents enable a dialogical (vs. directive, one-sided) communication in which children can assert their autonomous position through an exchange and elaboration of arguments (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985) and also encourage self-determination and self-responsibility (Niemic et al., 2006; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005, 2010).

Allen et al. (1994) suggested that discussions between parents and children on diverging opinions are functional for long-term development of autonomy and relatedness

because they may function as “numerous small “dry runs” for the adolescent's efforts to establish him or herself as an independent adult.” (p. 190). Similarly, Beyers et al. (2003), who found a slight positive association between separateness and agency in mid- and late adolescent samples, suggested that separateness may represent a stepping-stone toward a mature form of autonomy within positive, attached relationships. In line with this assumption, Van Petegem et al. (2010a, 2011) found positive associations between age (age range: 14 -21) and self-determinateness whereas age was unrelated to distance from parents (measured by PSI Emotional and Functional independence) and feeling regulated by external pressure.

In a suboptimal case, separateness is motivated by an emotional, reactive resistance against parents influence and authority. In this case, parents are perceived as rigidly controlling in a way that is too invasive for the weakly defined self-boundaries of adolescents (Ingoglia et al., 2011; Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2010b). If parents constantly constrain children's expression of autonomy, children can only defend themselves by devaluating and ignoring parents in return (Hauser et al., 1984). The resistant reaction thus reflects a self-defense rather than an imperfect but normative attempt at self-assertion during an instable phase of transition. In line with this, Van Petegem et al. (2010b) found that rebellious resistance was negatively associated with perceived autonomy-support, agency and psychosocial adjustment and satisfaction of basic psychological needs but positively with engulfment anxiety and perceived psychological control. Concerning the quality of parent-adolescent interactions, Allen, Hauser, O'Connor, Bell, and Eickholt (1996) could show that an increase in hostility shown toward parents by 16-year old adolescents was predicted by difficulties with the assertion of an autonomous position and attendance to parents' positions two years earlier.

But not only the extreme of being over-controlled by parents appears to be problematic for later psychosocial adjustment: The same appears to apply to the other extreme

of a lack of guidance and an untimely total self-responsibility. This is suggested by research on authority over decisions concerning transitions to more adult-like behavior (e. g., choice of friends, of how long one stays out, of when one starts dating etc.). Specifically, it has been shown that a certain degree of parental guidance and joint decision making between parents and adolescent children (that gradually tilts toward more independence of the child) is more adaptive for concurrent adjustment as well as adjustment in young adulthood than a premature youth-alone decision-making (e. g., Haase et al., 2008; Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Steinberg, 1996; Smetana, 1995; Smetana et al., 2004).

Taken together, these findings for adolescents indicate that dry-runs concerning independent self-regulation and attitudinal self-assertion in discussions may pose beneficial conditions for agentic capacities to emerge. However, it is only when young people approach adulthood that they get the “real life” chance to take up roles and life styles outside the realm of parent-controlled environments and to find out whether they can make it in life on their own. Young adulthood is also marked by qualitative changes in parent-child relationships that indicate a rapprochement of parents after a stable sense of personal autonomy has been achieved. The occurrence or non-occurrence of these changes may qualify whether separateness marked a foregone, functional phase of transition or an unbridgeable, defensive detachment. In the next sub-section these changes toward adulthood will be further detailed.

Developmental Change in Attachment, Separateness, and Autonomy in Young Adulthood

Average changes in the emotional quality of parent-child relationships during young adulthood concern the emergence of reciprocal trust and a decrease in devaluation and rejection of parents (De Goede et al., 2009; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; White et al., 1983; Wintre et al., 1995). For instance, through a cross-sectional comparison of different age groups, Wintre et al., (1995) showed that, compared to

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adolescents, young adults indicated stronger self-disclosure toward parents, perceived disclosure of parents, mutual respect and interest, meaningful discussion of identity-relevant issues in different ideological and relational domains, and enjoyment of parents' company (measured by the Perception of Parental Reciprocity Scale, POPRS; Wintre et al., 1995). Buhl (2008b) showed that young adults' perception of equality in the relationship with parents was negatively associated with conflict and positively with intimacy and relationship satisfaction.

In addition, Kenyon and Silverberg Koerner (2009) showed that, on average, young adults who had just entered college expressed a stronger tendency toward seeking physical-emotional closeness with and practical support from parents than their parents would expect them to indicate that young adults re-approach their parents in times of transitions to cope with multiple changes and new responsibilities. Wintre and Yaffe (2000) found adjustment to college to be predicted by perceived parental reciprocity and discussion with parents. Changes on the interpersonal level are paralleled by a strengthened sense of autonomy through cognitive changes (full development of formal operational reasoning; Mazor & Enright, 1988) and transitions to more adult-like roles and contexts (e.g., Arnett, 2004a; Buhl, 2007, 2008b; Kins et al., 2009; Lefkowitz, 2005; Masche, 2008; Seiffge-Krenke, 2009; Wintre & Yaffe, 2000).

On the other hand, a lack of qualitative changes in the parent-child relationship, particularly in parent's adaption to changing needs of their children, appears to have negative consequences for adjustment. This was indicated by a recent study by Kins, Soenens, and Beyers (2011) who found that parents, who showed high anxiety about distancing of their young adult child from them, were perceived by their children as highly psychologically controlling in a way of keeping the child emotionally and physically close through manipulative pressure and intrusions. This, in turn, predicted young adult's problems with

differentiating between self and other and simultaneously handling autonomy and connectedness.

In addition to the cross-sectional studies reported in the last three paragraphs, Beyers and Goossens (2002) conducted a three-year longitudinal study with college students in their late teens/early twenties and investigated classes of intra-personal developmental trajectories of separateness (i. e., emotional and functional independence) and positive separation feelings (i. e., absence of conflicts and emotional detachment) and their associations with adjustment to college. Three of the identified trajectory classes were associated with high levels of positive adjustment to college and marked by high constant or developmentally increasing levels of positive separation feelings and separateness. The other two trajectory clusters were associated with low levels of positive adjustment. One of these was marked by relatively low initial and only slightly increasing separateness and constantly low positive separation feelings. The other was marked by high initial and increasing level of separateness and a constantly low level of positive separation feelings. So it seems that young adults who find it difficult to adjust to parent-independent environments are those who remain constantly emotionally detached from their parents (rather than those who do or do not increase in independence).

Although it has been proposed in the psychological literature that psychosocial adjustment in young adulthood is closely linked to the development of a sense of identity, which is promoted by agency (e. g., Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Côté & Levine, 2002), which, in turn, is essential to individuation defined as autonomy within attached relationships, components of identity development and separation-individuation have neither been conceptually nor empirically integrated to a great extent in previous research (cf. Koepke & Denissen, 2012). In the next chapter, the idea of parents and children as interrelated identity control systems will be taken up and used as a framework to summarize and integrate the

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reviewed conceptualizations and empirical findings on identity development and separation-individuation in terms of their potential causal interrelations. The few studies that used the identity components proposed by Luyckx and colleagues and related them to aspects of parent-child relationships will also be described (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Luyckx et al., 2007; Meeus et al., 2005). From the integrative perspective, hypotheses are derived that were tested in the empirical study presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 5: Conceptual Integration of Identity Development and Separation-Individuation in Relationships between Young Adults and Their Parents

Children and Parents as Interrelated Identity Systems

In Kerpelman et al.'s (1997) identity control theory, states of a person's identity system shift between stability, in which external feedback supports the current identity standard, and instability, in which the current standard is disturbed by discrepant feedback. This corresponds to the duality between identity and identity confusion proposed by Erikson (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2004; Meeus, 2011). In parent-child interactions, such a disturbance can be assumed to occur when parents do not perceive and react to their children in a way that corresponds to how the child perceives or wants to perceive himself/herself and vice versa. Adolescence is a life period where the occurrence of such a disturbance is very likely because it is when the parent-dominated child-identity becomes unfitting for the child who wants to be recognized as an autonomous, grown-up individual. More concretely, this discrepancy exists between the future ideal of a mature identity that has not been formed through commitments and real opportunities for autonomous action yet and the pressing urge to distance oneself from parental authority (see also self-discrepancy theory; Higgins, 1987). Through this self-view-discrepancy, adolescents are likely to experience a state of identity confusion or uncertainty (no longer a child, not yet an adult) that initiates behavioral and cognitive reactions aimed at re-establishing stability in the identity system (i. e., assimilation and accommodation).

A first step toward solving this confusion might be for adolescents to withdraw from parents (i. e. , seek interpersonal independence) and change the evaluation of (feedback from) parents (i. e., de-idealization). This separation from parents might have the function to diminish parental restrictions of autonomous self-expression and in this way clear space for assessing what is self (=individual, internal potentials and volition) and what is other (=

internalized parents that guided personal attitudes, beliefs, and actions so far; Finkenauer et al., 2002; Kroger, 2004). Support for the assumption that identity uncertainty is associated with separateness comes from a study by Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers (2006) who found EB and functional independence to be positively associated in a sample of youngsters on the verge of adulthood. Furthermore, in a study by Perosa, Perosa, and Tam (2002) on young adult females, the status of identity moratorium (i. e. EB without CM) was specifically associated with experienced intergenerational intimidation suggesting fear of parents' opinions and a history of giving in to parents' demands to satisfy their expectations. In another study by the same authors (1996), a feeling of personal autonomy loaded on the same factor as discomfort with seeking closeness with parents. However, these concurrent associations do not provide evidence for the causal link from identity uncertainty to separateness that is proposed here.

The re-stabilization of the identity system depends on whether children and parents manage to progress from discrepant self-other views toward a relationship in which the individual identity standards of children and parents are supported rather than disturbed by their interpersonal / inter-system connectedness (see also Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008). This progression is shaped by both, children's and parents' actions and reactions because they "co-author" identity. Adolescents' actions aimed at separating from parents provide feedback to the identity system of parents. In order to accommodate to the developmental changes in their children, parents need to let go of their previous (parent-) identity standard of omnipotent authorities that is no longer confirmed by feedback from their children (cf. Kerpelman et al., 1997; Stierlin, 1974). Parents who are open to these changes should be most likely to enable open, dialogical discussions of differing opinions with their children, and gradually transfer more authority over personal actions to them. In this way, adolescents can undergo "dry-runs" in testing their capacities for self-assertion and self-responsibility and

separateness does not need to be exerted as a defensive emotion-driven rebellion against parents that keeps the adolescent in an infantile, subordinate position (cf. Ingoglia et al., 2011; Van Petegem et al., 2010b).

Experiences of success and failure in testing capacities for autonomous self-regulation can be expected to promote an increasing awareness in adolescents of what their personal potentials (and restrictions) are. This, in turn, should help them gain clarity about which ideological, vocational and relational choices might fit who they are and allow for an optimal self-expressiveness (cf. Waterman, 1990, 1992). In this sense, separateness is stepping stone for real autonomy to emerge (Beyers et al., 2003).

In young adulthood, when new, parent-independent social context are actually encountered, separated and autonomy-supported individuals should be well prepared to achieve stable identity commitments based on a self-efficient and self-reliant engagement in different options (cf. Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2005; Seiffge-Krenke, 2009; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005). In contrast, individuals who were not able to develop some sense of who they are and what they are capable of before they enter adult life contexts, might get stuck in uncertainty and indecisiveness. Consequently, agency appears to be a key component that distinguishes between exploring and separating individuals who eventually accommodate to adult roles and responsibilities without experiencing psychological distress and those who struggle with a persistent identity crisis and fear of being engulfed by parents (cf. Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2005).

The older young adults become and the more they invest in their adult roles and internalize them, the more certain they should feel about their commitments and the better they should become at functionally regulating themselves and their interactions with others (cf. Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Lodi-Smith & Roberts, 2007; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008b). During this process, they are faced with the challenges,

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necessities, and developmental tasks of adult life that their parents also have or had to deal with (e. g., forging a vocational career for themselves, handling a budget, choosing a long-term partner, having children, and raising children). This might lead them to an increasing recognition of their parents as adults like themselves, with a private life and life history of their own and respectable personal achievements (cf. Smollar & Youniss, 1989).

On the other hand, parents who have managed to let go of their children because they have seen that they are actually able to succeed in life on their own should also be more able to let go of their role as omnipotent and responsible caretakers. They may therefore be able to engage more freely in adult-to-adult interactions with their children and support their autonomous choices instead of doubting their maturity. The new form of familiarity between parents and adult children that may emerge from their converging adult identities (Buhl, 2007) should reinforce their positive emotional bond, which expresses itself in mutual trust, respect for individuality, and self-disclosure (Wintre et. al 1995). Such a mature relationship should also allow for a certain degree of dependence on parents to re-emerge, because confiding in and relying on parents is no longer coupled with feeling restricted in personal autonomy (cf. Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Finkenbauer et al., 2002; Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009; White et al., 1983). Taking these considerations together, it can be assumed that mature parent-child relationships and young adults' increasing certainty about and internalization of their commitments mutually reinforce each other.

The few studies in college student samples that linked qualities of parenting to EB, CM, ED, and IC support a potential reciprocity of effects. Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, and Beyers (2006) found positive associations between the absence of conflict in parent-child relationships, non-controlling parenting, autonomy-supportive parenting, and responsive parenting and CM, IC, and ED in freshman students. Associations of the relationship

variables with EB were negative. Over time, it appeared that the higher the experienced parental control was in the freshman year, the lower CM, and IC were 18 and 24 months later (Luyckx et al., 2007) and the higher EB was in the freshman year, the higher the parental control that participants experienced 18 and 24 months later. These results imply that high control is not effective for pressuring individuals into commitments, even if they are in a state of uncertainty for a while. Beyers and Goossens (2008) provided results from a two-wave assessment in college students which showed that identity evaluation is not only predicted by low perceived control but also appears to be followed up by improvements in perceived autonomy-supportive parenting.

To summarize, the integrative perspective of identity development and separation-individuation described in this chapter includes antecedents (= separateness, identity uncertainty/EB) and indicators of mature identity (= CM, IC) and mature parent-child relationships (=connectedness allowing for trustful dependence and autonomy) and how they functionally relate to each other. Not all of the named distinct components of separation-individuation and identity development have been captured in one longitudinal study so far and particularly not in young adulthood where difficulties with simultaneously handling autonomy and positive connectedness appear to become more relevant to psychosocial adjustment than in adolescence. The study that is presented in the next two chapters of this dissertation approaches these shortcomings. The discussion of results in Chapter 8 should serve the stimulation of further combined, longitudinal research on courses and mechanisms of identity development and separation-individuation in young adulthood. The concrete aims of the three assessments that were undertaken and the hypotheses that were tested are specified in the final sub-section of this chapter.

Aims & Hypotheses

The first assessment was a pilot study conducted in a different sample than the subsequent two assessments. Its purpose was the development of a questionnaire inventory that assesses components of separation-individuation and identity development in a differentiated, reliable and valid way. The subsequently optimized questionnaire was then used in a short-term longitudinal study with two time points of assessment and a one year interval between them. From here on, the three assessments will be referred to as pilot study, Wave 1, and Wave 2, respectively. In Waves 1 and 2, the main focus was on the investigation of concurrent and longitudinal associations between the factor-analytically derived components and sub-facets of separation-individuation and the components of identity development proposed in the model by Luyckx and colleagues. The construct validity of the separation-individuation components was investigated in all three assessments in terms of their embedding in a network of other indicators of psychosocial maturity.

Aim 1: Replication and further differentiation of components of separation-individuation and their concurrent associations. In order to avoid a confusion of autonomy and separateness as well as of separateness and detachment and to refine the empirical definition of theoretically proposed distinct features of these three components of separation-individuation, multiple measures for all three components were simultaneously entered into factor analyses. These measures were partly chosen or adapted from recent studies (e.g., Beyers & Goossens, 2002, 2003; Beyers et al., 2003; Buhl, 2008a; Ingoglia et al., 2011; Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009; Lamborn & Groh, 2009) and partly newly developed. The final, factor-based sub-facets of the components of *Agency* (as an indicator of autonomous functioning), *Separateness*, and *Mature Connectedness* with parents were used in the analyses of concurrent and longitudinal associations between separation-individuation and identity development. The sub-facets that were expected to emerge from the factor analyses

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are described in more detail in the next paragraphs.

In identity research, it has been assumed that agentic capacities enable autonomous functioning (e. g., Côté, 1996; Côté & Levine, 2002) and in research on parents-child relationships, autonomy rather than interpersonal separateness characterizes individuation in relationships (e. g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005; Smollar & Youniss, 1989). In the present study, Agency should be represented by two types of autonomy-related beliefs: Belief in the validity of one's personal opinion and actions (= self-reliance) and belief in the efficacy of one's personal capacities for achieving desired outcomes and mastering challenges and difficulties (= self-efficacy; cf., Bandura, 1989; Beyers et al., 2003; Côté, 1997; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Gecas, 1989; Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005).

According to previous research, normative changes in Separateness from parents that take place in adolescence and young adulthood concern the degree to which parents are 1) consulted for providing practical help and advice, 2) needed for providing physical closeness and emotional reassurance, and 4) are followed in their attitudes and imitated as ideal role models (e.g., Beyers & Goossens, 2003; Beyers et al., 2003, 2005; Ingoglia et al., 2011; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Rice et al., 1990). All of these aspects should occur as sub-facets of Separateness in the present study.

For mature, positive relationships with parents, the perceived quality of communication with parents in terms of enabling individual self-expression and not being judgmental appears to be a central indicator (e. g., Allen et al., 1994; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; White et al., 1983; Wintre et al., 1995). Therefore, in the present study, a measure was used that specifically tapped into young adults' experience of being understood, encouraged, and accepted by parents with regard to their individual development and life choices, especially if these choices deviate from parents' expectations and their own way of living

(Ochberg & Comeau, 2001). This measure should be represented on a single factor capturing Mature Connectedness.

In line with the correlational findings and theoretical considerations presented in the theory section, the subsequent predictions were made for concurrent associations between Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness in young adults (e. g., Beyers et al., 2003; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005, Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2010a; 2011):

Hypothesis 1a): *Agency is positively associated with Separateness and Mature Connectedness.*

Hypothesis 1b): *The association between Agency and Separateness is less strong than the association between Agency and Mature Connectedness.*

Hypothesis 1c): *Mature Connectedness is negatively associated with Separateness.*

Aim 2: Extension of previous measures of identity formation and evaluation. In the initial validation studies of their dual-cycle model, Luyckx and colleagues (Luyckx et al., 2005, Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006) used the Ego-Identity Process Questionnaire (EIPQ; Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995) to capture EB and CM and the Utrecht-Groningen Identity Development Scale (U-GIDS; Meeus & Dekovic, 1996) to capture ED and IC. These measures differ considerably in the number of identity domains addressed (EIPQ: politics, religion, occupation, value orientation, friendship, family, intimate relationships, and sex roles; U-GIDS: friendship and education/occupation). In a more recent study, Luyckx et al. (2008) developed and validated a single measure for all of the 4 components of identity development, namely the Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS). However, the only domain addressed by the DIDS is general future plans. In the current study, a more comprehensive and consistent measure for all four components was constructed. This was done by applying

all four components to the same ideological and interpersonal identity domains: *Value orientation*, *life style*, and *occupation* pertained to ideological aspects of identity whereas *friendship*, *romantic relationship*, and *family* pertained to interpersonal aspects of identity (cf., Balistreri et al., 1995; Grotevant & Adams, 1984; Grotevant, Thorbecke, & Meyer, 1982).

According to Erikson's conceptualization of identity, the commitments that characterize the objectively perceivable personal identity of a person promote a subjective experience of being the same person across time and different contexts. For the reason that this experience is essential for being able to engage in close relationships without losing oneself (cf. Erikson, 1968; Fuchs, 2007; Jorgensen, 2006; Karpel, 1976) and therefore essential for individuation, a measure of self-coherence was also included in the present study.

In line with previous results the subsequent predictions were made for concurrent associations between EB, CM, ED, IC and self-coherence in young adults (e. g., Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Luyckx et al., 2008; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008; Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Pollock, 2008):

Hypothesis 2a): *IC, CM, ED, and self-coherence are positively associated.*

Hypothesis 2b): *EB is negatively associated with IC, CM, and self-coherence and positively with ED.*

Aim 3: Investigation of embedding of separation-individuation in psychosocial maturity. If young adults' optimal outcome of identity development and separation-individuation consists of evaluated commitments, a sense of autonomy, and mature relationships, these variables should be embedded in a network of other markers of mature individual and interpersonal functioning. Therefore, analyses of the construct validity of

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Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness were undertaken. The chosen criterion variables referred to positive interpersonal relationships, emotional stability, an eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges, (cf., Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974; Lodi-Smith & Roberts, 2007), and a realistic, de-idealized perception of parents as ordinary, individual persons (cf. Blos, 1967; Kroger, 1998). The subsequent predictions were made for concurrent associations between Agency and Mature Connectedness on the one hand and indicators of psychosocial maturity on the other:

Hypothesis 3a): *Mature Connectedness and Agency are positively associated with positive interpersonal relationships and emotional stability*

Hypothesis 3b): *Agency is positively associated with eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges.*

In contrast to the clear positioning of Agency and Mature Connectedness among other indicators of psychosocial maturity, (changes in) Separateness may indicate progress in individual functioning but also stagnation in immature, interpersonal uncertainty, especially if it strongly persists into adulthood. Specifically, on the one hand, separating may reflect a motivated striving for a more mature level of individual functioning which promotes the discovery and further development of agentic capacities. It has been assumed that this striving for more interpersonal independence, on functional, emotional, and attitudinal levels (which have been captured by the Separateness measures in the present study) is accompanied by an intra-psychic de-idealization of parents (e. g., Hoffman, 1984; Mazor & Enright, 1988). On the other hand, Separateness, as distancing from parents' influence, could also reflect uncertainty about self-other boundaries and defensive detachment which might hinder appropriate interpersonal functioning. Taking these considerations together, it was predicted that Separateness would show the following pattern of associations with indicators of psychosocial maturity:

Hypothesis 3c): *Like Agency, Separateness is positively associated with eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges and with de-idealized representations of parents.*

Hypothesis 3d): *Unlike Agency and Mature Connectedness, Separateness is negatively associated with positive interpersonal relationships and emotional stability.*

Apart from the quality of the current relationship, perceived parenting in childhood and adolescence was also assessed and related to the separation-individuation measures in order to investigate whether experienced Autonomy-support (vs. Control) and Care (vs. Neglect) predispose Agency and Mature Connectedness in young adulthood.

Aim 4: Investigation of longitudinal associations between identity development and separation-individuation in young adulthood. Propositions concerning causal associations between identity development and separation-individuation were rationalized in the integrative, developmental perspective at the beginning of this chapter. In this sub-section, they will be formulated as empirically testable hypothesis. The predicted causal (= cross-lagged) associations are summarized in the left column of Table 1. The right column of Table 1 provides an overview of the results that were obtained with regard to predictions. These are reported in more detail the results section.

Both, EB and ED indicate identity uncertainty – either about which future option to choose or about the personal fit of a current commitment. This uncertainty might be caused by a discrepancy between the parent-dominated child identity and the desire for autonomous self-regulation and self-expression. An increase in Separateness might reflect an attempt at clearing the confusion between self- and other. If this confusion has not been solved by young adulthood, it might inhibit the emergence of a Mature Connectedness with parents based on autonomy and mutual trust. Therefore, the subsequent prediction was made:

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Hypothesis 4a): *EB and ED in Wave 1 predict an increase in Separateness and a decrease in Mature Connectedness in Wave 2.*

Separateness might clear space for recognizing personal potentials and volition and young adulthood provides contexts in which the efficacy of one's self-determined actions can be tested. Therefore, the subsequent prediction was made:

Hypothesis 4b): *Separateness in Wave 1 predicts an increase in Agency in Wave 2.*

For young adults who have achieved a certain degree of Separateness from parents and an idea about who they are, Agency might be the key capacity that channels them toward committing themselves to fitting options and thereby toward an actualization of their personal identity. Therefore, the subsequent interaction effects were predicted:

Hypothesis 4c): *Agency in Wave 1 moderates the association between EB in Wave 1 and CM in Wave 2. Specifically, if EB is low in Wave 1, high Agency in Wave 1 predicts a stronger increase in CM in Wave 2 than low Agency.*

Hypothesis 4d): *Agency in Wave 1 moderates the association between Separateness in Wave 1 and CM in Wave 2. Specifically, if Separateness is high in Wave 1, high Agency in Wave 1 should predict a stronger increase in CM in Wave 2 than low Agency.*

The stabilization of a sense of personal autonomy in young adulthood might allow for a Mature Connectedness with parents to emerge that includes a certain degree of reliance on and appraisal of parents advice. Therefore, the subsequent predictions were made:

Hypothesis 4e) *Agency in Wave1 predicts an increase in Mature Connectedness in Wave2.*

Hypothesis 4f): *Mature Connectedness in Wave 1 predicts a decrease in Separateness in Wave 2.*

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A secure settlement in identity commitments might facilitate a rapprochement of parents in the sense that young adults perceive interactions with them as expressing encouragement of, interest in and respect for their individuality (rather than as being a threat to their autonomy). This positive validation of who they are might, in turn, reinforce their certainty about and internalization of made choices. Therefore, the subsequent reciprocal effects were predicted:

Hypothesis 4g): *Mature Connectedness in Wave 1 predicts an increase in CM, IC, and Self-coherence in Wave 2 and vice versa.*

Table 1 *Predicted and Obtained Causal Associations between Identity Development and Separation-Individuation*

Hypothesis	Predicted Cross-Lagged Effects W1 → W2	Results
4a	EB/ED → Separateness EB/ED ⇔ Mature Connect.	ED → Physical/Emot. Ind. ($p = .07$) EB ⇔ Mature Connect. Mature Connect. ⇔ ED
4b	Separateness → Agency	Physical/Emot. Ind. → Self-reliance Non-Conformity → Self-efficacy; Self-reliance ($p = .09$)
4c	Agency moderates EB ⇔ CM	EB x Self-efficacy ($p = .07$)
4d	Agency moderates Separateness ⇔ CM	n. s.
4e	Agency → Mature Connect.	Self-efficacy → Mature Connect.
4f	Mature Connect. ⇔ Separateness	Mature Connect. ⇔ Physical/Emot. Ind.; Non-Conformity; Ind. Self-regulation ($p = .07$)
4g	Mature Connect. ↔ CM, IC, Self-coherence	Mature Connect. ↔ CM, IC, Self-coherence

Note. Sub-facets of Separateness are: Physical/Emotional Independence, Non-Conformity, and Independent Self-regulation; Sub-facets of Agency are: Self-reliance and Self-efficacy; EB = Exploration in breadth, CM = Commitment making, ED = Exploration in depth, IC = Identification with commitment ; White arrow = Prediction of decrease; Black arrow = Prediction of increase

CHAPTER 6: Method

Measures

Certain measures that were chosen to operationalize Separateness, Agency, Mature Connectedness, and psychosocial maturity were included in each of the three assessments, whereas some were only included in Wave 2. Based on results from factor analyses conducted on each of the three data sets, new scales were created that contained items from different original scales and/or abbreviated versions of these scales. The original measures that were employed in all three assessments and those that were additionally employed in Wave 2 are described first, followed by a description of the factor-based measures in the results section. Based on results from the pilot study, the questionnaire was optimized through an exclusion of several scales due to insufficient reliability or insufficient incremental validity. These scales are not further mentioned in either the method or results section because they have no relevance to the hypotheses of the present study.

All measures used as indicators of Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness were rated on a 5-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1 and 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”. Some items were re-coded so that high scores always indicated strong Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness. Descriptive statistics, internal consistencies, and item examples for the newly created, factor-based measures are described in the results section. The table in Appendix 9.2 contains a complete list of items in their order of appearance in the Wave 1 and Wave 2 questionnaire, English translations of all items, original sources of items, and the scale belonging of items in the present study.

Separateness. The three sub-facets of Separateness that were expected to emerge as distinct factors were *Non-conformity with parents*, *Physical/Emotional Independence*, and *Independent Self-regulation*. Non-conformity was measured by items from the Foreclosure

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scale of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Bennion & Adams, 1986). These items capture an unquestioned adoption of parents' beliefs and attitudes concerning identity-relevant commitments in different domains. For use in the present study, a German translation of the Foreclosure scale (Kapfhammer, 1995) was shortened and adapted. Specifically, of the eight identity domains in the original EOMEIS-2 that are each assessed by two items, those six domains were chosen that were also targeted by the identity measures in the present study (see Aim 2 above). For economic reasons, only one item per domain was used. The two items for the domain of life style values in the EOMEIS-2 were assigned to two domains in the present study (see identity measures): One item assessed value orientations because it captured parents' views of what is desirable in life and provides life with sense and the other was slightly adapted so that it measured the adoption of parents' life style rather than parents' views on life.

Physical/Emotional Independence was captured by an adaptation of the PSI-Emotional Independence scale (Hoffman, 1984) by Kenyon and Silverberg Koerner (2009). The five items of this scale only cover the need for physical togetherness but not for emotional reassurance. Four additional items were developed to account for this aspect of emotional independence. Independent Self-regulation was measured by an adaptation of the PSI-Functional Independence scale (Hoffman, 1984), also by Kenyon and Silverberg Koerner (2009). Kenyon and Silverberg Koerner (2009) assessed college students' expectations concerning future independent behavior and utilized items based on the general content of the PSI-domains. For the current study, the items were presented in present instead of future tense because the focus was on participant's current experience of independence.

Mature Connectedness. Mature Connectedness with parents in the context of separation-individuation and identity development in young adulthood was assessed by The Family Engagement scale (Ochberg & Comeau, 2001). On the negative side, the absence of

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Mature Connectedness might be indicated by conflict-ridden feelings that detach individuals from their parents and prevent individuation (e.g., guilt, anxiety, responsibility, anger; cf. Beyers & Goossens, 2002, 2003; Buhl, 2008b). Therefore, a German scale based on the content of the PSI-Conflictual Independence scale (Buhl, 2008a; Hoffman, 1984) was used to assess problematic detachment from parents as the opposite pole of Mature Connectedness (which means that these items should load on the same factor as the Family Engagement scale).

Agency. In order to assess agentic capacities, the Self-reliance scale from the Psychosocial Maturity (PSM) Inventory (Greenberger, Josselson, Knerr, & Knerr, 1975; Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974) and a German scale assessing general Self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986; English version: Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) were employed. According to Greenberger and colleagues, the self-reliance scale assesses trust in the capacity to judge independently, a willingness to take risks and make choices without being in constant need for social validation, a sense of personal control over life, and personal initiative. The Self-efficacy scale is based on a definition of Self-efficacy as the subjective belief that one is able to master difficult, unexpected, and challenging situations.

Identity formation and evaluation. EB, CM, and IC were measured by 12 items and ED was measured by six items. A pair of two items for EB, CM, and IC and one item for ED related to each of the six identity-relevant domains listed above in Aim 2. The 42 items as well as the items for measuring self-coherence were rated on a 5-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1, 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”. Some of the items were re-coded so that high scores consistently indicated strong EB, CM, ED, IC, and self-coherence.

EB was measured in terms of participants’ uncertainty about and exploration of their current standpoint concerning the identity-relevant domains. The items for the domains

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of value orientation, life style, occupation, friendship, and romantic relationships were based on a German translation of Moratorium items from the EOMEIS-2 (Bennion & Adams, 1986; Kapfhammer, 1995). The items referring to politics in the original scale were changed to statements about value orientations. It was assumed that political views are just one frame of reference for value orientations (religion, philosophy, and cultural/family tradition may be others) that is not necessarily relevant for every person. For this reason, the more general labeling was chosen. The items referring to dating in the original scale were changed to statements about romantic relationships because when used in German language, the word “dating” is primarily associated with a loose and initial form of getting to know someone to whom one is sexually attracted rather than referring to a substantial attachment and persistent commitment to a relationship. The two items for the domain of family were taken from the Exploration scale of the EIPQ (Balistreri et al., 1995).

CM was measured in terms of participants’ certainty about the persistence of their current standpoint concerning the identity-relevant domains. For all of the 6 domains, the items were taken from the Commitment scale of the EIPQ (Balistreri et al., 1995). The items referring to religion in the original scale were changed into statements about more general value orientations. The items referring to politics in the original version were change into statements about life style. Dating was again replaced by romantic relationships.

The construction of items for the components of ED and IC was inspired by the U-GIDS (Meeus & Dekovic, 1995) and the DIDS (Luyckx et al., 2008). In these scales, ED refers to gathering information about commitments and thinking about them in order to find out whether they really suit oneself. Based on this conceptualization, the ED-scale in the present study consisted of six items (i. e., one item per domain), asking if participants try to

find out whether their commitment in a certain domain really suits them.² Also based on conceptualizations in the U-GIDS and the DIDS, the two IC-items created for the present study assessed to which extent commitments in a certain domain provide certainty and stability in life (Item 1) and to which extent they contribute to a sense of personal coherence (Item 2). The two IC-items for the six domains were all constructed similarly (see Table 2).

A general sense of self-coherence that is not directly tied to any one commitment was captured by items from the Painful Incoherence scale of the Identity Disturbance Questionnaire (IDQ; Wilkinson-Ryan & Westen, 2000). Originally, the IDQ had been developed in a study on identity disturbance in borderline personality disorder that was assessed through clinicians' ratings of patients. Therefore, the items were modified so that they assessed participants' self-reported, subjective sense of self-coherence.

Socio-demographic data. Participant were asked to provide demographic information including their age, gender, nationality, educational status, and residential situation (co-residence with vs. living apart from their main caretakers), and information concerning their parents and their family background. A full list of the demographic characteristics that were assessed in the present study can be found in the list of items in Appendix 9.2.

Main caretaker. In their original form, some of the scales in the questionnaire relating to relationships with parents exist in a father and a mother version (e.g., the PSI). For economic reasons and for the reason that participants' subjective experience of who was or were the most present and influential primary caretaker(s) in their life was of greater interest than differential relationships with fathers and mothers, participants were asked to indicate who their main caretaker(s) was (were) in the first 16 years of their life and to answer the

² Another aspect of ED in the U-GIDS and DIDS refers to a regular exchange with others about commitments. This aspect has also been assessed in the present study but it only showed very few significant associations with the other measures, in particular longitudinal associations did not occur. Therefore, this aspect will be neglected in the method and results section.

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respective items by relating to that person/those persons. Response categories were “mother/foster mother”, “father/foster father”, “both parents”, “grandparents”, “siblings”, and “another person”. In order to ascertain that all participants refer to a similar kind of relationship when responding to the items, the instructions defined the main caretaker(s) as the person(s) whom participants were mostly in contact at home and who had the greatest presence in their life, independent of whether the relationship with him/her/them had been a pleasant or more of an unpleasant one.

Table 2 *Descriptive Statistics for the Identity Measures*

Measure	Item examples	Assessment	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>
EB (12 items)	<i>I am still gathering experiences concerning romantic relationships. I still need to find out what I really want in this regard.</i>	pilot	1.08	4.58	2.70	.65	.79
		W1	1.08	5.75	3.22	.90	.81
		W2	1	5	3.15	.90	.82
	<i>I have evaluated many ways in which I fit into my family structure.</i>						
CM (12 items)	<i>I have definitely decided on the occupation I want to pursue</i>	pilot	1.75	4.58	3.51	.56	.77
		W1	1.83	5.92	4.13	.74	.76
	<i>I have firmly held views concerning my role in my family</i>	W2	1.92	5.92	4.15	.77	.77
ED (6 items)	<i>I try to find out whether [commitment in a domain e.g., the occupation I have chosen] really suits me.</i>	pilot	1	5	2.62	.86	.79
		W1	1	6	3.48	1.39	.89
		W2	1	6	3.15	1.34	.87
IC (12 items)	<i>My [name of domain e.g., life style] contributes to my sense of personal coherence.</i>	pilot	1.60	5.00	3.65	.66	.86
		W1	1.5	6	4.67	.71	.77
	<i>My [name of domain e.g., family] gives me security and stability in life.</i>	W2	1	6	4.74	.74	.80
Self-coherence (7 items)	<i>I sometimes feel unreal.</i>	pilot	1.29	5.00	3.66	.92	.88
	<i>My self sometimes feels like a ‘false self’ whose social appearance does not match my inner experience.</i>	W1	1	6	4.40	1.20	.88
		W2	1	6	4.45	1.2	.88

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Note. In the pilot study the identity variables were assessed by 5-point Likert-type scales. In Waves 1 and 2 the identity variables were assessed by 6-point Likert-type scales; W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$, $N_{w1} = 730$, $N_{w2} = 358$; EB = Exploration in breadth, CM = Commitment making; ED = Exploration in depth; IC = Identification with commitment

Additional measures. Additional measures covered indicators of psychosocial maturity, perceived parenting in childhood and adolescence, and de-idealized representations of parents. Most of these measures were consistently employed in all three assessments with a few exceptions of measures that were only used in the Wave 2 assessment (see below). The quality of interpersonal relationships, as a first indicator of mature interpersonal functioning, was covered by negative relationships as they appear in individuals with a borderline-like personality structure, Big Five-Agreeableness, a general sense of Social embedding in terms of whether participants can identify with and feel integrated in their proximal social environment, a secure adult attachment style (Wave 2 only), and trust in parents' availability in times of need (Wave 2 only). Emotional stability, as a second indicator of mature interpersonal functioning, was covered by borderline-like Affective instability and Self-damage, Big Five-Neuroticism, and Self-esteem. Eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges, as an indicator of mature individual functioning, was covered by Need for Cognition, Big Five-Openness, and Big Five-Conscientiousness. De-idealized cognitive representations of parents were represented by two newly constructed measures (Wave 2 only). Table 3 shows descriptive statistics and internal consistencies for the additional measures used in all three assessments. Some of the items were re-coded so that high scores consistently indicated a strong expression of the respective trait.

Motivational underpinnings of self-reliance and self-efficacy. As will be explained in the results section, two more measures were added in Wave 2 in order to investigate differential motivational underpinnings of self-reliance and self-efficacy. One of

these measures was the General Causality Orientations Scale (GCOS; Deci & Ryan, 1985) that has been derived from Self-Determination Theory and assesses relatively stable individual differences in how people understand the initiation and regulation of their behavior - as being caused and freely chosen by themselves (autonomy orientation), as being caused by internal or external controls (control orientation), or as being caused by events that are totally beyond their intentional control (impersonal orientation). The GCOS consists of 12 short vignettes that describe achievement or social situations (e.g., applying for a job, going to a party) which are followed by three kinds of reactions to the situation that pertain to the three causality orientations. For each reaction, participants indicated on a 7-point Likert-type scale how typical it would be for them to react like that (range: “very unlikely” to “very likely”). Three scale scores can be generated from the 12 vignettes and indicate to which degree participants endorse each of the orientations. In the present study, all three scales showed acceptable internal consistencies ($\alpha = .60 - .79$).

The other measure was the Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008). The FIRNI measures the Big Five personality factors in terms of motivational reaction norms that describe “stable individual differences in people’s reactions to circumscribed situational cues” (Denissen & Penke, 2008, p. 1286). The FIRNI- Conscientiousness scale consists of 10 items that assess the persistence individuals show in pursuing their (long-term) goals despite conflicting (short-term) needs and distractions. The items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”. In the present study, the measure showed a high internal consistency ($\alpha = .88$).

Big Five. The Big Five factors of personality were assessed by a 21-item German short-version of the Big Five Inventory (BFI-K; Rammstedt & John, 2005; English long version by John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991). The items were rated on a 5-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1, 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”.

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Self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured by a German translation of the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965; Ferring & Filipp, 1996). The items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”.

Need for Cognition. Participants’ Need for Cognition was assessed by a 16-item German short version of the Need for Cognition scale (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; Bless et al., 1994). The items were rated on a 7-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1, 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”.

Borderline-like personality features. Borderline-like personality features were captured by a German version of the Borderline Features Scale from the Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI-BOR; Groves & Engel, 2007; Morey, 1991). Three of the four sub-facets of the scale were assessed (six items per facet): Affective Instability, Negative Relationships, and Self-damage. The items were rated on a 5-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1, 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”.

Social embedding. Social embedding was operationalized in terms of Sarason’s (1974) Psychological Sense of Community (PSOC). The items for assessing participants’ PSOC were taken from a German PSOC scale (Stitzel, Michel, & Roehrle, 1999). Three items assessed the degree to which participants are able to identify with others in their social environment and seven items assessed the degree to which they feel integrated in and recognized by others in their social environment. The items were rated on a 5-point (pilot study) or 6-point (Waves 1, 2) Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”. Participants were instructed to consider those people or groups of people as part of their social environment who mainly surround them in their everyday life (i.e., people they live, study, work, spend their free time with).

Perceived parenting in childhood and adolescence. Perceived parenting was assessed by a German translation and adaptation of the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI;

Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979; Richter-Appelt, Schimmelmann, & Tiefensee, 2004). The PBI consists of two scales, Care (vs. Neglect; 12 items in original scale/15 items in German adaptation) and Autonomy-support (vs. Control; 13 items). Care (vs. Neglect) captures the degree of warmth and affection experienced from the main caretaker(s) in the first 16 years of life. Control (vs. Autonomy-Support) relates to the degree of granted psychological autonomy experienced from the main caretaker(s). The items were rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from “absolutely” to “not at all”.

Adult attachment style (Wave 2). A German version of the Attachment Self-Report (ASR; Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2008; Hazan & Shaver, 1987) was employed to assess adult attachment style. The ASR consists of three global characterizations of the three infant attachment styles (secure, avoidant, anxious/ambivalent) that have been adapted to adult relationships by Hazan and Shaver. Participants were asked to make a forced choice between the three styles by the question “Which of the following statements best describes your feelings in relationships with other people?”

Trust (Wave 2). Two items were constructed that measured trust in parents’ availability for support in times of need. The items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”.

De-idealized representations of parents (Wave 2). To my knowledge, a specific measure that assesses a changing perception and evaluation of parents in terms of a realistic representation of parents as individual persons with strengths and weaknesses and a life of their own does not exist in the literature.³ Therefore, a couple of items were constructed in

³ Two previous measures have tried to approximate the assessment of changing perception and evaluation of parents but fell short of reaching this aim in some respect: In the Emotional Autonomy Scale (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), the sub-scales that should cover these specific perceptive changes turned out to be strong indicators of problematic detachment (cf. the “detachment debate” that has been referred to in the Theory section). The Perception of Parental Reciprocity Scale (Wintre et al., 1995) taps into the evaluation of interaction behavior of parents and adult children (and is thus similar to the Family Engagement scale used as a measure for Mature Connectedness in the present study) but it does not tap into perceptions and evaluations of parents as individual persons.

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accordance with how this changing perception and evaluation has been theoretically described in previous research (e.g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; White et al., 1983). In a factor analysis including these items and the separation-individuation measures, three items substantially loaded on the Mature Connectedness factor ($> .55$) and 2 on the Non-Conformity factor ($> .64$). The former three items were aggregated and represented a composite measure for *Relationship Symmetry and Awareness and Acceptance of Parents' Weaknesses* (short label: *Symmetry and Weaknesses*; $\alpha = .67$). The latter two items could also be aggregated due to an acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = .72$) and were labeled *Relativization of parents*. The items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from “not at all” to “absolutely”. Table 4 shows descriptive statistics, item examples, and internal consistencies for Symmetry and Weaknesses, Relativization of Parents, and Trust, and frequencies for the attachment styles assessed by the ASR.

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Table 3 *Descriptive Statistics for the Additional Measures used in all three Assessments*

Measure	Item example	Assessment	Min	Max	M	SD	α
Parental Care (15 items)	<i>He/she appeared to understand my problems and worries.</i> <i>He/she made me feel I wasn't wanted.</i>	pilot	1.20	4.00	3.13	.62	.94
		W1	1.27	4	3.18	.58	.91
		W2	1	3.87	3.14	.61	.91
Parental Control (13 items)	<i>He/she tried to control everything I did.</i> <i>He/she let me decide things for myself.</i>	pilot	1.00	3.69	1.86	.52	.89
		W1	1	3.77	1.71	.56	.89
		W2	1	3.92	1.7	.59	.91
Extraversion (4 items)	<i>I am outgoing, sociable.</i>	pilot	1	5	3.31	.97	.87
		W1	1	6	4.16	1.16	.83
		W2	1	6	4.23	1.16	.83
Agreeableness (4 items)	<i>I am generally trusting.</i>	pilot	1	4.75	2.92	.79	.67
		W1	1	6	3.38	1.03	.67
		W2	1	5.75	3.35	1.01	.65
Conscientiousness (4 items)	<i>I am doing a thorough job.</i>	pilot	1.50	5.00	3.61	.74	.77
		W1	1.25	6	4.30	.94	.77
		W2	1	6	4.32	.97	.78
Neuroticism (4 items)	<i>I get nervous easily.</i>	pilot	1	5	3.38	.88	.81
		W1	1	6	3.76	1.21	.81
		W2	1	6	3.78	1.22	.81
Openness to experience (5 items)	<i>I have an active imagination.</i>	pilot	2.25	5	4.03	.71	.72
		W1	1.8	6	5.02	.81	.69
		W2	2.2	6	5.06	.84	.75
Need for Cognition (16 items)	<i>I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.</i> <i>I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to a problem.</i>	pilot	2.19	6.69	4.96	.91	.89
		W1	2.13	6	4.42	.73	.87
		W2	1.5	6	4.47	.76	.89
Affective instability (6 items)	<i>I have difficulty controlling my anger</i>	pilot	1	4.67	3.03	.81	.80
		W1	1	6	3.33	1.13	.82
		W2	1	6	3.31	1.13	.82
Negative relationships (6 items)	<i>I have great worries that others could leave me.</i>	pilot	1.33	4.67	2.86	.74	.70
		W1	1	5.83	3.26	.97	.69
		W2	1	6	3.18	.99	.69
Self-damage (6 items)	<i>I am so impulsive that it causes me harm.</i>	pilot	1	4.33	2.30	.72	.76
		W1	1	6	2.52	.92	.73
		W2	1	5.5	2.53	.97	.76
Social embedding (10 items)	<i>My attitude towards life is similar to that of the people in my social environment.</i> <i>My social environment makes me feel at home.</i>	pilot	1.81	5	3.66	.64	.89
		W1	1.8	6	4.83	.71	.85
		W2	2	6	4.88	.74	.87
Self-esteem (10 items)	<i>I feel that I have a number of good qualities.</i>	pilot	1	6	4.41	1.13	.95
		W1	1	6	4.61	1.01	.92
		W2	1.3	6	4.67	1.04	.92

Note. In the pilot study all variables were assessed by 5-point Likert-type scales except for Care and Neglect (4-point scale), Self-esteem (6-point scale), and Need for Cognition (7-point scale). In Waves 1 and 2 all variables were assessed by 6-point Likert-type scales except for Parental Care and Control (4-point scale); W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$, $N_{W1} = 730$, $N_{W2} = 358$

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Table 4 *Descriptive Statistics for the New Measures in Wave 2 (N = 358)*

Measure	Factor loadings on	Item examples	Min	Max	M	SD	α
Symmetry and Weaknesses (3 items)	Mature Connect.	<i>In our relationship toward each other meanwhile I experience myself less in the role of the child than in that of an adult counterpart. (symmetry)</i> <i>I know his/her weaknesses and can accept them. (acceptance of weaknesses)</i>	1.33	6	4.57	1.01	.67
Trust (2 items)	Mature Connect.	<i>I know that when in need I can rely on his/her help and support</i> <i>I know that he/she would not condemn me if I got into difficulties and asked for his/her help.</i>	1	6	5.07	1.24	.73
Relativization of parents (2 items)	Non-Conformity	<i>I accept everything that he/she says to me because he/she is always right.</i> <i>I would never think of doubting his/her behavior.</i>	1.5	6	5.13	.97	.72
Characterization of attachment style			Frequency				
Adult Attachment style	<i>I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me. (secure)</i>		147 (frequency, double-indications excluded)				
	<i>I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being. (avoidant)</i>		113 (frequency, double-indications excluded)				
	<i>I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away. (anxious/ambivalent)</i>		9 (frequency, double indications excluded)				

Note. All variables were assessed by 6-point Likert-type scales except for attachment style which was assessed by a forced-choice format.

Translations. Some of the measures were translated from English to German language. These measures were the EIPQ-Commitment scale, the PSI- Emotional Independence and Functional Independence scale, the IDQ-Painful Incoherence scale, the PSM-Self-reliance scale, the Family Engagement scale, and the GCOS. The translations were conducted by the author of this dissertation. The items were back-translated into English language by a bilingual person with a degree in English language and literature studies. For each item, the degree of correspondence between the original English version and the back-translated version was then rated by five PhD students working in the field of developmental psychology. Discrepancies between raters and items with overall low correspondence scores

were finally discussed by the raters, the supervisor of this dissertation project, and the author of this dissertation and led to a consensual decision for each item in question.

Assessment Procedure and Samples

General procedure. All variables were assessed by an online questionnaire that was entitled “My Life and Me – Now and Then”. In a recruitment email, participants were informed that the questionnaire would require them to reflect upon their personal development as well as their current life situation. Participants were also told that, as a compensation, they would receive a personal feedback of their results (pilot study and Wave 2) and take part in a lottery giving them the chance to win one of ten 50 €-vouchers to be spend at amazon.de (all three assessments). The measures in the questionnaire were grouped by content-relatedness and each group of measures was headed by a new instruction. To illustrate, the identity, personality and Agency measures all assessed person-centered constructs; therefore, they were grouped under the following instruction: “The subsequent section is about your current self-assessment. Please choose the response category “not at all” if your do not agree with a statement at all and the response category “completely” if you agree with the statement insistently. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles.” At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked to leave any comment they may have on the questionnaire in a free text format. The results feedback was provided right after completion of the questionnaire and consisted of a description of selected constructs in the questionnaire and information about of how participants had scored on the respective scales relative to the mean of a normative sample (categories based on z-scores: “very low”, “low”, “average”, “high”, or “very high”).

Pilot study. Through a link provided in the recruitment email, the questionnaire could be accessed at the web portal for online research of the Humboldt-University’s Department of Psychology named “Psytests”. Most of the participants were registered for

receiving the Psytests newsletter that informed them about the study via email. Some participants were also recruited via the online portal of the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes (= German National Academic Foundation). The 238 participants who took part in the study were predominantly female ($n = 183 / 78 \%$), German by nationality ($n = 219 / 92 \%$), and highly educated ($n = 180 / 76 \%$ students or university graduates). The mean age of the sample was 24.99 years ($SD = 3.19$; $Mdn = 25$; range: 15-30). Most participants named their mother as their main caretaker in childhood and adolescence ($n = 174 / 73 \%$) and were currently living apart from their parents ($n = 201 / 84 \%$).

Wave 1. The Wave 1 assessment was completed by 730 students of the Humboldt-University Berlin. Participants were contacted via the university's student mailing list. Participants were asked to provide their email address at the end of the questionnaire if they were willing to participate again in Wave 2. In order to grant anonymity, participants were informed that the address would be saved separate from their questionnaire data.

The mean age of the sample was 24.13 years ($SD = 3.17$; $Mdn = 24$; range = 18-35). As in the pilot study, participants were predominantly female ($n = 552 / 76 \%$) and German by nationality ($n = 688 / 94 \%$). Most of the participants named both parents as their main caretakers ($n = 399 / 55 \%$) followed by the mother as the main caretaker ($n = 283 / 39 \%$). About half the sample consisted of students with at least one highly educated parent (university degree: mother: $n = 346 / 47 \%$; father: $n = 394 / 54 \%$; both parents: $n = 380 / 52 \%$) and most of the participants lived apart from their parents ($n = 637 / 87 \%$; age when participant moved out: $M = 19.33$; $SD = 1.83$; $Mdn = 19$; range = 12-29).

Wave 2. Of the 730 participants in Wave 1, 582 provided their email address and were re-contacted and invited to participate in Wave 2 approximately one year after Wave 1. Similar to Wave 1, participants were instructed to follow an online-link to get access to the electronic questionnaire and were first asked to re-generate their personal code by which their

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data could be matched to that from Wave 1. The assessment took place over a period of seven weeks (7th February to 31st March 2011) during which several reminder emails were sent to participants who had not filled in the questionnaire to that point.

Due to invalid email addresses, 20 participants could not be re-contacted. Of the remaining 562 participants, 358 provided complete data for both assessments (i. e., the drop-out rate was approximately 26%). For all relevant variables, potential differences between the drop-outs and the completers were checked for. Univariate analyses of variance were estimated using the categorical variable “Completed vs. Dropped-out” as independent variable and demographic variables as well as Wave 1 scale means for factor-based separation-individuation measures, identity measures, and additional measures as dependent variables. Only one significant effect emerged: A relatively greater portion of male participants (62 of 131 from Wave 1 / 47.33 %) relative to female participants (159 of 448 from Wave 1 / 35,49 %) dropped out, $F(1, 577) = 6.06, p = .01$. Consequently, the Wave 2 sample consisted of 19.27 % male participants ($n = 69$) and 80.73 % female participants ($n = 289$). The final sample of participants that was included in the longitudinal analyses consisted of the 358 participants who completed both assessments. Almost 90% of these participants lived apart from their parents and almost all were either engaged in their studies or a post-gradual career. A table that summarizes all of the assessed demographic characteristics of this sample can be found in Appendix 9. 3.

Analytical Procedure

In order to empirically distinguish components of separation-individuation and their sub-facets, the items of the separation-individuation measures were entered into factor analyses in all three assessments. For the reason that the measures were not expected to represent entirely independent factors but rather related sub-facets of separation-individuation, an oblimin rotated factor solution was chosen. Correlation analyses were

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conducted in order to explore concurrent associations between measures of separation-individuation, identity development, and psychosocial maturity. Longitudinal associations between separation-individuation and identity development were estimated via cross-lagged regression analyses.

For the moderation analyses conducted to investigate Hypotheses 4c) and 4d), the variables were z-standardized. For Agency, as a potential moderator of longitudinal associations between EB and CM and Separateness and CM, the Wave 1 measurement was entered into the regression. The independent variables in the regression equation consisted of the Wave 1 measurement of CM (in order to account for its stability), the Wave 1 measurement of EB or Separateness, the Wave 1 measurement of Agency and the moderation term. All analyses were conducted in SPSS.

CHAPTER 7: Results

Cross-Sectional Results

Factor-based sub-facets of Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness.

The selection of a factor solution for the separation-individuation items was based on two criteria: Theoretical soundness and content clarity. Theoretical soundness referred to the identification of distinct factors representing sub-facets of Agency (= self-efficacy, self-reliance), Mature Connectedness (= perceived engagement of parents, conflictual independence), and Separateness (= non-conformity, physical/emotional independence, independent self-regulation) that have been described in the psychological research literature. Furthermore, in an oblimin rotated factor solution, the factors representing either sub-facets of Agency, Mature Connectedness, or Separateness should be more strongly associated with each other than with factors representing one of the other two components. Content clarity referred to the clear-cut assignment of items to only one factor and therefore also to the exclusion of items that could not be clearly assigned. This applied to items with no high loading on any factor, items with similar loadings on more than one factor, and items whose factor belonging was inconsistent between the three assessments.

Based on the two selection criteria, a similar factor structure could be identified in all three assessments. It consisted of six factors that explained approximately 60 % of the variance. Altogether, 12 items from several original measures were excluded due to low and inconsistent loadings and a 2-item factor was excluded due to the low reliability (internal consistency and stability) that emerged when the items were aggregated.⁴

These excluded items are specifically marked in the list of items in Appendix 9.2.

⁴ The factor for which this was the case was represented by two items from the Conflictual Independence scale that indicated feelings of guilt towards parents. This variable was neglected in further analyses because it showed no significant associations with the other separation-individuation measures across assessments.

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One factor was represented by five of the nine items of the adapted PSI- Emotional Independence scale. These items referred to difficulties with physical distance from caretaker(s) and feelings of homesickness. Thus, becoming independent in this sense primarily involves a disengagement from a physical and emotional clinging to parents. Therefore, the factor was termed *Physical/Emotional Independence*. A second factor was represented by the Self-efficacy scale and 6 of the 10 items of the Self-reliance scale which basically referred to believing in the validity of one's own opinion (vs. yielding oneself to the opinion of others out of self-uncertainty). Therefore, the factor was labeled *Agency*. The Self-efficacy scale and the abbreviated Self-reliance scale were nevertheless kept as separate measures. The reason for this is provided in the next sub-section. A third factor was represented by the Foreclosure items which had been re-coded so that high scores implied low foreclosure meaning that participants do not uncritically conform to attitudes and beliefs of their parents. Therefore, the factor could be interpreted as representing *Non-conformity with parents*.

A fourth factor was represented by the Family Engagement scale as well as three of the Conflictual Independence items. The factor described a positive, *Mature Connectedness* with parents which also included that participants do not blame difficulties in their own life on their parents (= content of Conflictual Independence items). Finally, a fifth factor was represented by five of the six items from the adapted PSI- Functional Independence scale and three items from the adapted PSI- Emotional Independence scale. All of these items basically referred to the degree to which participants seek parents' practical assistance in regulating negative affect and feelings of uncertainty related to failure and decision-making. Therefore, this factor was interpreted as *Independent Self-regulation*. New factor-based measures were created for which the descriptive statistics and internal consistencies are provided in Table 5.

Post-hoc analyses after Wave 1: Agency as self-determinateness vs. goal-directedness. Of the two Agency measures, only Self-efficacy appeared to be positively associated with Agreeableness and negatively or non-related to Separateness whereas Self-reliance was positively related to Separateness (see Tables 6 and 10). These associations implied that Self-reliance and Self-efficacy might have somewhat different motivational underpinnings with self-reliance expressing a commitment to follow one's own opinion, and self-efficacy expressing a commitment to goal achievement which may as well include drawing on others' opinions. These assumptions were supported by relating the Agency measures to a measure of self-determinateness (GCOS; Deci & Ryan, 1985) as well as a measure of will power and goal-directedness (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008) in Wave 2. Specifically, it occurred that Self-efficacy was significantly higher correlated with goal-directedness than Self-reliance, $t(1, 355) = 3.89, p < .01$. Concerning Causality Orientations, Self-reliance and Self-efficacy both showed very similar positive correlations with an autonomy orientation. Self-efficacy was also positively associated with a control orientation ($r = .13, p = .02$) whereas Self-reliance was not associated with a control orientation ($r = -.01, p = .87$). The difference between these correlations was significant, $t(1, 355) = -2.46, p < .05$. Differential motivational underpinnings of Self-reliance and Self-efficacy and differential associations of these Agency measures with the other measures in the study are taken up again in the interpretation of results in the discussion section.

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Table 5 Descriptive Statistics and Internal Consistencies for the Factor-based Separation-Individuation

Measures

Factor/ Measure	Item examples (high factor loadings)	Asses ment	Min	Max	M	SD	α	Factor- loadings
<u>Separateness:</u>	<i>I have adopted my ideas about men's and women's roles from my parents and family. I have never seen any need to question their ideas.</i>	Pilot	1.6	5	3.89	0.73	.73	.54-.75
Non-conformity with parents (5 items)		W1	1.6	6	4.55	0.95	.73	.59-.69
		W2	2.2	6	4.56	0.96	.77	.49-.73
	<i>I date only people he/she would approve of.</i>							
<u>Separateness:</u>	<i>I would wish he/she lived nearer so I could visit him or her more frequently</i>	Pilot	1	5	3.85	0.85	.82	.52-.86
Physical/ Emotional Independence (5 items)		W1	1	6	4.37	1.3	.86	.71-.82
	<i>After being with him/her for vacation, I find it hard to leave him or her.</i>	W2	1	6	4.48	1.24	.84	.64-.81
<u>Separateness:</u>	<i>I call upon him/her to help me out of trouble when I am having difficulty.</i>	Pilot	1	5	3.37	0.84	.84	.56-.74
Independent Self- regulation (6 items)		W1	1	6	3.78	1.3	.88	.57-.85
	<i>I need his/her consolation and advice when something goes wrong.</i>	W2	1	6	3.87	1.24	.86	.59-.80
Mature Connectedness (18 items)	<i>He/she often doesn't understand the ups and downs in my life.</i>	Pilot	1.44	5	3.70	0.80	.93	.63-.82
		W1	1.61	5.72	4.43	0.83	.86	.64-.80
	<i>Conflicts between her/him and me that we had in my childhood /youth still strain our relationship.</i>	W2	1.4	6	4.5	1.11	.94	.69-.87
<u>Agency:</u>	<i>In a group I prefer to let other people make the decisions.</i>	Pilot	1.8	5	3.75	0.65	.69	.43-.78
Self-reliance (5 items)		W1	1.6	6	4.65	0.77	.64	.44-.73
		W2	2.2	6	4.65	0.79	.63	.48-.71
<u>Agency:</u>	<i>Even with unexpected events, I believe that I can get along well.</i>	Pilot	1	4.7	3.31	0.61	.89	.43-.78
Self-efficacy (10 items)		W1	1.4	5.8	4.01	0.83	.90	.44-.73
		W2	1.4	5.9	4.07	0.8	.88	.48-.71

Note. In the pilot study all of the separation-individuation variables were assessed by 5-point Likert-type scales.

In Waves 1 and 2 all of the separation-individuation variables were assessed by 6-point Likert-type scales; W =

Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$, $N_{W1} = 730$, $N_{W2} = 358$

Test of Hypotheses 1a, b, c; 2a, b; 3 a, b, c, d. The first three aims of the present study concerned the replication of concurrent associations between components of separation-individuation and between components of identity development as they have been reported in previous studies as well as the investigation of the embedding of separation-individuation in a network of other indicators of psychosocial maturity. The predicted concurrent associations were based on the assumption that in particular Agency, Mature Connectedness, CM, IC, and Self-coherence represent outcomes of psychosocial maturation in young adulthood and should therefore grow stronger or stabilize in this life period. Separateness and EB, on the other hand, were assumed to indicate uncertainty about identity and self-other boundaries that is more characteristic of the transitions between adolescence and young adulthood. Separateness and EB should therefore decrease during the young adult years. Longitudinally, these developmental trends could only be tested for the time span of one year in the present study. Therefore, concurrent associations between age and the study variables were also assessed, especially because the age span of participants in the present study covered the whole phase from the transition to young adulthood in the early twenties to the transition to mid-adulthood in the mid-thirties. Correlations between age and the separation-individuation as well as the identity measures were calculated for the biggest sample, namely the Wave 1 sample including all 730 participants. These correlations as well as correlations between the separation-individuation measures and between the identity measures are depicted in Tables 6 and Table 7.

Concurrent associations between Agency, Separateness, Mature Connectedness, and age. As predicted in Hypothesis 1a), the Agency measures were positively associated with Mature Connectedness. However, only Self-reliance showed significant and positive associations with Non-conformity with parents and Independent Self-regulation in Wave 1, whereas Self-efficacy was slightly negatively associated with Non-conformity with parents.

Thus, contrary to predictions, the two sub-facets of Agency did not show a consistent positive pattern of associations with Separateness. As predicted in Hypothesis 1b), Agency was stronger associated with Mature Connectedness than with Separateness. As predicted in Hypothesis 1c), Mature Connectedness was negatively associated with Separateness. Contrary to the assumption, that Separateness should decrease and Mature Connectedness increase or stabilize in young adulthood, all three sub-facets of Separateness were positively associated with age while Mature Connectedness was negatively associated with age. Self-efficacy was unrelated to age while the correlation for Self-reliance showed a marginally significant ($p = .07$) positive trend. This was in line with the assumption that Agency stabilizes in young adulthood.

Concurrent associations between EB, CM, ED, IC, Self-coherence, and age. The newly developed identity scales in the present study showed good internal consistencies (see Table 2). The correlations between the identity measures for all three assessments are depicted in Table 7. In line with previous findings and predictions made in Hypotheses 2a) and 2b), CM was positively associated with IC and Self-coherence which were also positively associated with each other. Furthermore, EB was negatively associated with CM, IC and Self-coherence and positively associated with ED. ED was negatively associated with CM and IC which was not in line with predictions made in the present study that were based on findings by Luyckx and colleagues (e.g., 2008). Luyckx and colleagues found ED and CM to be positively associated and had assessed ED in terms of the extent to which individuals think about and talk to others about their commitments. In the present study, ED was assessed in terms of the extent to which individuals think that their commitments really suit them. Possibly, in the operationalization of ED by Luyckx and colleagues, individuals' open exchange about commitments is an expression of confidence about them whereas in the operationalization in the present study, individuals' self-questioning is more an expression of

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non-completed commitment making and identification with commitments. This assumption was supported by the finding that, in the present study, the (neglected) 6-item scale that assessed whether participants regularly talk to other about their commitments (see footnote 2, p. 63) was positively associated with IC in all three assessments (.35, .28, .23; $p < .001$). In line with the assumption that identity certainty should increase with age, CM and Self-coherence were positively associated with age and EB was negatively associated with age. ED and IC were unrelated to age.

Concurrent associations between identity development and separation-individuation.

The correlations between the identity measures and the separation-individuation measures for all three assessments are depicted in Table 8. The positive associations between Mature Connectedness and CM, IC, and Self-coherence corresponded to the predictions made for longitudinal associations in Hypothesis 4g). EB was at least positively associated with one of the sub-facets of Separateness, namely Non-Conformity which corresponded to the positive longitudinal association predicted between EB and Separateness in Hypothesis 4a). Hypothesis 4c) suggested that Agency would promote the achievement of identity commitments which was in line with the finding that Self-reliance and Self-efficacy were positively associated with CM, IC, and Self-coherence and negatively associated with EB and ED.

Table 6 *Significant Correlations between the Separation-Individuation Measures and Correlations with Age*

	1			2			3			4			5		
	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>
1 Non-conformity															
2 Physical/Emot. Independence	.32	.35	.42												
3 Independent Self-regulation	.44	.47	.56	.57	.56	.55									
4 Mature Connectedness	-.40	-.47	-.54**	-.34	-.34	-.34	-.51	-.46	-.48						
5 Self-Reliance		.10**		.15*			.07*			.30	.27	.26			
6 Self-Efficacy		-.08*								.31	.30	.30	.51	.44	.43
Age (W1)		.14			.08*		.19			-.13				n.s. for 5 & 6	

Note. All $ps \leq .001$; except: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$; $N_{W1} = 730$; $N_{W2} = 358$

Table 7 Significant Correlations between the Identity Measures and Correlations with Age

	1			2			3			4			5		
	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>
1 EB															
2 CM	-.72	-.69	-.66												
3 ED	.59	.39	.56	-.49	-.30	-.39									
4 IC	-.42	-.41	-.44	.52	.50	.52	-.24	-.10**	-.22						
5 Self-coherence	-.58	-.62	-.66	.50	.52	.58	-.38	-.28	-.49	.59	.48	.58			
Age (W1)		-.21			.13									.08*	

Note. All $ps \leq .001$; except: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$; $N_{W1} = 730$; $N_{W2} = 358$

Table 8 *Significant Correlations between the Separation-Individuation and the Identity Measures*

	EB			CM			ED			IC			Self-coherence		
	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>
Non-conformity		.12**	.13*	-.17**	-.24**	-.30**		.09*	.14**	-.22**	-.23**	-.22**		-.21**	-.24**
Physical/Emot						-.17**				-.18**	-.11**	-.18**			
Independ.															
Independent				-.15*	-.08*	-.19**				-.34**	-.15**	-.25**			-.15**
Self-reg.															
Mature	-.35**	-.32**	-.36**	.38**	.36**	.41**	-.32**	-.17**	-.31**	.51**	.42**	.50**	.48**	.48**	.53**
Connect.															
Self-efficacy	-.27**	-.37**	-.33**	.35**	.41**	.40**	-.18**	-.19**	-.28**	.53**	.42**	.45**	.46**	.47**	.50**
Self-reliance	-.46**	-.38**	-.37**	.40**	.32**	.25**	.34**	-.13**	-.21**	.42**	.27**	.34**	.54**	.42**	.47**

Note. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$; $N_{W1} = 730$; $N_{W2} = 358$

Embedding of separation-individuation in psychosocial maturity. Tables 9 and 10 show the significant correlations between the separation-individuation measures and the criterion variables for psychosocial maturity, perceived parenting, and de-idealized representations of parents. As predicted in Hypothesis 3a), Mature Connectedness and Agency showed a similar pattern of associations with positive interpersonal relationships and emotional stability with the exception that only Self-efficacy was positively associated with Agreeableness whereas Self-reliance was unrelated to Agreeableness. In line with Hypothesis 3b), Agency was positively associated with Need for Cognition, Conscientiousness, and Openness to experience.

The positive association between Separateness and eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges predicted in Hypothesis 3c) was only partly supported by the data. Specifically, Non-conformity with parents was positively associated with Openness to Experience and at least in Wave 1 also with Need for Cognition whereas Independent Self-regulation and Physical/Emotional Independence were unrelated to Openness to Experience and Need for Cognition and all three sub-facets showed negative or no associations with Conscientiousness across the three assessments. In line with predictions, all three sub-facets of Separateness were positively associated with Relativization of parents. Symmetry and Weaknesses was negatively associated with all three sub-facets of Separateness though while this measure was positively associated with Mature Connectedness.

Results concerning the prediction made in Hypothesis 3d), that Separateness would be negatively associated with positive interpersonal relationships and emotional stability, were inconsistent between the sub-facets. Specifically, Non-conformity with parents and Independent Self-regulation were negatively associated with Self-esteem, Social embedding and Agreeableness but only Non-conformity with parents was also positively associated with Neuroticism, Negative relationships, Affective instability, and Self-damage whereas the other

two sub-facets showed negative or no associations with these variables across the three assessments. Trust was negatively correlated with all three sub-facets of Separateness.

Adult attachment style (Wave 2 only). In order to investigate how Adult attachment styles, as indicators of relationship quality, were associated with Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness, univariate ANOVAs with attachment style as the independent variable⁵ were calculated. For Separateness, it appeared that participants who had indicated a secure attachment style scored significantly lower on Independent Self-regulation ($M = 3.66$; $SD = 1.21$) than participants who had indicated an avoidant attachment style ($M = 4.22$; $SD = 1.18$), $F(1, 355) = 6.94, p = .001$. Similar effects were found for Physical/Emotional Independence, $F(1, 355) = 6.30, p = .002$ (secure attachment: $M = 4.25$; $SD = 1.33$; avoidant attachment: $M = 4.79$; $SD = 1.09$) and Non-Conformity, $F(1, 355) = 3.03, p = .05$ (secure attachment: $M = 4.42$; $SD = 0.90$; avoidant attachment: $M = 4.71$; $SD = 0.99$). Expectably, a reversed effect was found for Mature Connectedness: Participants who had indicated a secure attachment scored significantly higher on Mature Connectedness ($M = 4.89$; $SD = 0.90$) than participants who had indicated an avoidant attachment style ($M = 4.24$; $SD = 1.17$), $F(1, 355) = 17.44, p < .001$. Similar effects were found for Self-reliance, $F(1, 355) = 5.60, p = .004$ (secure attachment: $M = 4.81$; $SD = 0.75$; avoidant attachment: $M = 4.60$; $SD = 0.80$) and Self-efficacy, $F(1, 355) = 22.79, p < .001$ (secure attachment: $M = 4.38$; $SD = 0.74$; avoidant attachment: $M = 3.97$; $SD = 0.72$). These results are in line with the prediction made in Hypothesis 3d) that Separateness would be negatively associated with positive relationships and with the prediction made in Hypothesis 3a) that Mature Connectedness and Agency would be positively associated with positive relationships.

⁵ For the reason that 89 participants did not properly follow the instructions and indicated for more than one attachment style that it suits them best, their data for the ASR was ambiguous and excluded from analyses that concerned attachment style. The independent variable attachment style only consisted of the two categories of secure and avoidant attachment because the exclusion of ambiguous data reduced the number of participants who had exclusively indicated that the anxious/ambivalent style best suits from $n = 69$ to $n = 9$ which was not comparable to the number of participants who had exclusively indicated a secure ($n = 147$) or avoidant style ($n = 113$).

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Parenting in childhood and adolescence. In line with the assumption that the perceived quality of relationships with caretakers in earlier life phases has an impact on separation-individuation, parental Care was positively and parental Control negatively associated with Agency and Mature Connectedness. For Separateness, this pattern was reversed, indicating that high Separateness in adulthood might represent detachment from intrusive parents because autonomy can otherwise not be achieved and maintained.

Table 9 *Significant Correlations between the Separation-Individuation Measures and the New Measures in Wave 2*

	Non - conformity	Physical/ Emot. Ind.	Ind. self- regulation	Emotional Connect.	Self- reliance	Self- efficacy	Trust	Symmetry & Weaknesses
Trust	-.41	-.24	-.44	.71	.12*	.15**		
Symmetry & Weaknesses	-.29	-.22	-.24	.68	.20	.33	.47	
Relativization of parents	.56	.30	.43	-.36	.12*		-.25	-.20

Note. All $ps < .001$; except: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Table 10 Significant Correlations between the Separation-Individuation Measures and Indicators of Psychosocial Maturity and Perceived Parenting

	Non-conformity			Physical/Emot. Ind.			Ind. self-regulation			Mature Connect.			Self-reliance			Self-efficacy		
	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>	<i>pilot</i>	<i>W1</i>	<i>W2</i>
Extraversion					-.11		-.21	-.09	-.13	.33	.22	.20	.40	.35	.38	.58	.41	.39
Agreeableness	-.09	-.20				-.15		-.08	-.15	.15	.25	.24					.09	.13
Conscientious.	-.09	-.12			-.08				-.11	.18	.23	.25	.30	.28	.29	.38	.36	.37
Neuroticism	.13	.14		-.17	-.10			-.08		-.33	-.36	-.40	-.45	-.36	-.43	-.63	-.61	-.65
Openness to experience	.14	.11											.17	.16		.18	.14	.15
Self-esteem	-.16	-.17					-.15	-.09	-.15	.49	.48	.49	.56	.46	.49	.65	.67	.66
Need for Cognition	.12									.18	.14	.21	.43	.43	.38	.45	.46	.47
Affective instability	.15	.19			-.09					-.32	-.34	-.39	-.22	-.19	-.23	-.30	-.37	-.36
Negative relationships	.10	.10			-.12			-.07		-.34	-.34	-.41	-.31	-.28	-.33	-.28	-.38	-.41
Self-damage	.07	.15			-.08					-.27	-.28	-.30	-.18	-.13	-.16		-.20	-.15
Social embedding	-.20	-.22	-.23				-.27	-.15	-.20	.45	.39	.40	.31	.16	.22	.42	.33	.40
Parental Care	-.36	-.46	-.48	-.32	-.30	-.33	-.48	-.48	-.54	.75	.76	.78	.20	.17	.13	.21	.21	.17
Parental Control	.22	.27	.33	.24	.14	.22	.25	.21	.27	-.53	-.58	-.63		-.22	-.18		-.24	-.22

Note. All $ps \leq .05$; W = Wave; $N_{pilot} = 238$; $N_{W1} = 730$; $N_{W2} = 358$

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Summary of cross-sectional results. In the first part of the results section, sub-facets of Separateness, Agency and Mature Connectedness were empirically discriminated and investigated for their embedding in a network of indicators of psychosocial maturity. Separateness was represented by an attitudinal component concerning the degree to which young adults express conformity with attitudes of parents and take parents as unquestioned role models, an emotional component concerning the degree to which young adults cling to physical closeness with and emotional reassurance by parents, and a functional component concerning the degree to which young adults rely on parents' practical assistance to cope with stressful situations. Mature Connectedness was represented by aspects of conflictual independence referring to not blaming parents for personal difficulties as well as items from the Family Engagement scale assessing positive communication between parents and adult children in which children feel understood, encouraged, and accepted by parents for their individuality. Finally, Agency was represented by self-beliefs concerning the validity of personal opinions and the efficient mastery of challenging situations.

Mature Connectedness was positively associated with Agency and both components were also positively associated with indicators of positive adult relationships and emotional stability. Agency appeared to be relatively independent from Separateness and the slight significant associations suggested that Self-reliance was closer associated with seeking interpersonal independence than Self-efficacy. Mature Connectedness was negatively associated with all sub-facets of Separateness. Taken together, these results suggest that attachment and autonomy rather than independence reflect psychosocial maturity in young adulthood, although negative associations between Separateness and indicators of psychosocial maturity were not as strong and consistent across variables and assessments as expected. The strongest associations were found for Non-conformity with parents.

The concurrent associations between the sub-facets of separation-individuation and

the identity components of EB, CM, ED, IC, and self-coherence as well as associations between these five identity components were generally in line with previous findings and associations predicted for the longitudinal investigations in the present study. The results of these investigations will be presented in the second part of the results section.

Longitudinal Results

The fourth aim of the present study concerned the investigation of causal associations between components of identity development and Separateness, Agency, and Mature Connectedness. Progressive developmental trends of separation-individuation as well as identity development that have been investigated independent from each other or only cross-sectionally in previous research were integrated in order to arrive at a developmental sequence. This sequence included causal links from identity uncertainty (EB, ED) to Separateness, from Separateness to Agency, and from Agency to CM, as well as reciprocal associations between identity certainty (CM, IC, self-coherence) and Mature Connectedness. Stabilities of and mean-level changes in components of separation-individuation and identity components between Waves 1 and 2 will be reported first followed by cross-lagged associations between the identity components which should further validate the progressive trends for identity development reported in previous research on the identity model of Luyckx and colleagues (i. e., from identity uncertainty toward commitments and the further evaluation of commitments). Finally, results concerning the predicted causal associations between identity development and separation-individuation will be reported.

Stabilities and mean-level changes. The stabilities of the separation-individuation measures as well as the cross-lagged associations between them are depicted in Table 11. Mature Connectedness showed the highest stability, followed by Independent Self-regulation, Physical/Emotional Independence, Self-efficacy, Non-Conformity, and Self-reliance. On the level of means, Mature Connectedness showed a significant increase between Waves 1 and 2,

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$t(357) = 4.31, p < .001$. The means of the Agency as well as the Separateness measures did not show any significant change (all $ps > .17$). Taken together, this suggests that, on average, participants felt just as self-reliant, self-efficient, and independent in Wave 1 as they did one year later whereas they tended to perceive their parents as more encouraging one year after the Wave 1 assessment.

The stabilities of the identity measures as well as the cross-lagged associations between them are depicted in Table 12.⁶ EB and Self-coherence showed the highest stabilities, followed by CM, and IC. ED was the least stable. On the level of means, ED significantly decreased between Wave 1 and Wave 2, $t(357) = -3.10, p = .002$ and a decrease in EB was marginally significant, $t(357) = 1.90, p = .059$. IC significantly increased, $t(357) = 2.10, p = .04$ and an increase in self-coherence was marginally significant, $t(357) = 1.83, p = .07$. CM did not show a significant mean-level change ($p > .97$). Taken together, this suggests that, on average, participants were equally certain (or uncertain) about their choice of occupation, ideology and relationships in both Waves whereas they showed a tendency toward stronger identification with commitments one year after the Wave 1 assessment.

⁶ It was assumed that scores on the identity measures might be affected by the occurrence of identity-relevant critical life events between Waves 1 and 2. In order to control for this, a list of 20 critical life events was added to the questionnaire in Wave 2 (e.g., starting a new job, experiencing death or severe illness of a main caretaker, entering or ending a romantic relationship). Participants had to indicate whether the respective event had taken place since the last assessment. At least one of the events had happened to 290 of the participants. The most frequent events were entering or ending a romantic relationship ($n = 105 / 99$) and changes of field of study/workplace ($n = 83$) or place of residence ($n = 87$). The stabilities of the identity measures between the Wave 1 and Wave 2 assessment were not significantly altered by controlling for the occurrence (vs. non-occurrence) of critical life events. Also, when participants were excluded from the analysis who were not in a romantic relationship at either Wave 1 or Wave 2 (and therefore did not answer the IC and ED items concerning romantic relationships) this did not significantly alter the stabilities.

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Table 11 *Stabilities of and Significant Cross-Lagged Associations between the Separation-Individuation Measures (beta-weights)*

	Non- Conformity2	Physical/ Emot. Ind.2	Ind. self- regulation2	Mature Connect.2	Self- reliance2	Self- efficacy2
Non- Conformity1	.71***					.07**
Physical/ Emot. Ind.		.76***			.08**	
Ind. self- regulation1			.80***			
Mature Connect.1	-.23***	-.09**	-.07*	.85***		
Self- reliance1					.69***	
Self-efficacy1				.06**		.75***

Note. 1 = Wave 1 score; 2 = Wave 2 score controlled for stability; *** $p < .001$, ** $p \leq .05$, * $p = .07$

Table 12 *Stabilities of and Significant Cross-Lagged Associations between the Identity Measures (beta-weights)*

	EB2	CM2	ED2	IC2	Self-coherence2
EB1	.74**	-.12*	.31**	-.09*	-.09*
CM1	-.10*	.68**	-.17**	.18**	.10*
ED1			.43**		
IC1	-.10*			.63**	.08*
Self-coherence1	-.25**	.19**		.12*	.76**

Note. 1 = Wave 1 score; 2 = Wave 2 score controlled for stability; ** $p < .001$, * $p \leq .05$

Longitudinal associations between EB, CM, ED, IC, and self-coherence. In line with the cross-sectional results, EB predicted a decrease in CM, IC, and self-coherence and these components predicted a decrease in EB which reflects the polarity between identity and identity confusion/uncertainty. In line with the assumption that identity uncertainty precedes commitment formation and evaluation (cf. Luyckx et al., 2006b), CM predicted an increase in IC and a decrease in ED and EB predicted an increase in ED.

Test of Hypotheses 4a - 4g. Table 13 shows the cross-lagged association between the separation-individuation and the identity measures. In line with the predictions made in Hypothesis 4a), EB predicted a decrease in Mature Connectedness and ED predicted an increase in Physical/Emotional Independence (though the latter effect was only marginally significant, $\beta = .07$; $p = .06$). However, contrary to predictions, ED did not significantly predict change in the other two sub-facets of Separateness ($ps > .58$) and EB did not significantly predict change in any sub-facet of Separateness ($ps > .32$). Mature Connectedness predicted a decrease in ED although the reversed effect had been predicted (ED \rightarrow Mature Connectedness).

In line with predictions made in Hypothesis 4b), Physical/Emotional Independence predicted an increase in Self-reliance. Contrary to predictions, this cross-lagged association was not significant for Self-efficacy ($p = .63$). An increase in Self-efficacy was predicted by Non-conformity with parents which also tended to predict an increase in Self-reliance ($p = .09$). Independent Self-regulation did not significantly predict change in the two sub-facets of Agency ($ps > .14$).

In line with the prediction made in Hypothesis 4e), Self-efficacy predicted an increase in Mature Connectedness. Significant cross-lagged associations between Self-reliance and Mature Connectedness did not occur ($ps > .29$). In line with the prediction made in Hypothesis 4f), Mature Connectedness predicted a decrease in Physical/Emotional

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Independence, Non-Conformity, and tended to predict a decrease Independent Self-regulation ($p = .07$). In line with the prediction made in Hypothesis 4g), Mature Connectedness predicted an increase in CM, IC, and Self-coherence and these identity components also predicted an increase in Mature Connectedness.

Table 13 *Significant Cross-Lagged Associations between the Separation-Individuation Measures and the Identity Measures (beta-weights)*

Prediction of change in identity by separation-individuation in W1					
	EB2	CM2	ED2	IC2	Self-coherence2
Non-conformity1					
Physical/Emot. Ind.1					
Ind. self-regulation1					
Mature Connect.1		.13**	-.16***	.14**	.13***
Self-reliance1		.08*	-.22***		
Self-efficacy1			-.14**	.18***	.11**
Prediction of change in separation-individuation by identity in W1					
	Non-conformity2	Physical/Emot. Ind.2	Ind. Self-regulation2	Mature Connect.2	Self-reliance2/ Self-efficacy2
EB1				-.08**	
CM1		-.07**		.07**	
ED1		.07*			
IC1		-.07**		.13***	
Self-coherence1				.08**	

Note. 1 = Wave 1 score; 2 = Wave 2 score controlled for stability; *** $p \leq .001$, ** $p \leq .05$, * $p \leq .06$

Finally, it was investigated, whether the Agency measures would moderate the longitudinal associations between EB and CM and Separateness and CM as it was predicted

in Hypotheses 4c) and d). EB did not significantly interact with Self-reliance in predicting change in CM ($p = .62$). The interaction between EB and Self-efficacy on CM was marginally significant, $t(353) = -1.84, p = .07$. A plot of the interaction (see Figure 1) revealed that for participants with low scores on EB, high Self-efficacy tended to be associated with a stronger increase in CM than low Self-efficacy. For participants with high scores on EB, change in CM was independent of level of Self-efficacy. This finding was in line with predictions. None of the three facets of Separateness interacted with Self-reliance or Self-efficacy in predicting change in CM ($ps > .16$). Thus, the prediction that participants who are separated from their parents are more likely to form commitments when they are highly agentic was not supported.

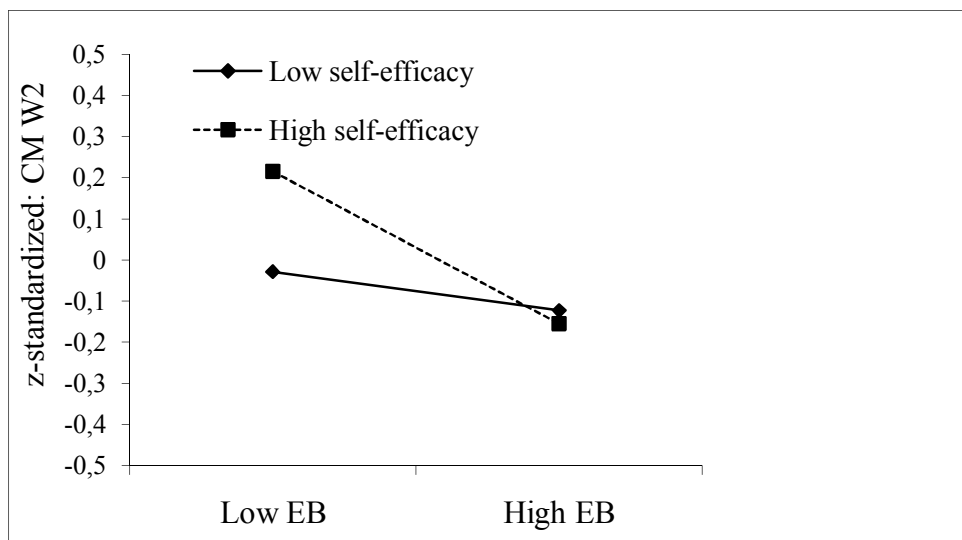


Figure 1. Interaction effect between EB and Self-efficacy in Wave 1 on CM in Wave 2 ($p = .07$).

Concluding remark on longitudinal results. The longitudinal investigations conducted in the present study had the aim of testing causal links between components of identity development and components of separation-individuation. Overall, hypotheses concerning associations between Agency, Mature Connectedness, and identity (4 c, e, f, g) were more strongly confirmed than hypotheses concerning associations between Separateness and Agency and Separateness and identity (4 a, b, d; cf. Table 1). In the next and last chapter

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of this dissertation in which the results will be interpreted and discussed, this discrepancy between strongly and weakly supported hypotheses will be specifically focused on.

CHAPTER 8: Discussion

In the discussion, it will first be elaborated on findings concerning the correspondence between theoretical conceptualization and empirical operationalization and construct validity of components of separation-individuation (Aims 1 and 3). This is followed by an elaboration on the more intriguing findings concerning the correspondence between the proposed causal associations between components of identity development and components of separation-individuation and the empirically obtained longitudinal results (Aim 4). Aim 2, which concerned the extension of measures previously used to assess EB, CM, ED, and IC, will not be targeted in the discussion. The reason for this is, that the implementation of the extended measure was a means to an end rather than a central outcome in itself because it should serve the consistent assessment of identity domains across the four components and a specification of their focus (EB: uncertainty about identity options, CM: certainty about persistence of current commitments, ED: exploration of personal fit of commitments, IC: internalization of commitments in terms of the stability, certainty, and personal coherence they provide). The measure turned out to be reliable and correlations between the four components were in line with results found in previous studies.

Discussion of Cross-Sectional Results: Replication and Further Differentiation of Components of Separation-Individuation and Associations with Psychosocial Maturity

As shown in the theory section, the clear conceptual and empirical definition of what constitutes separateness and what constitutes individuation and in what form the former is likely to promote (vs. hinder) the latter has been a long debated subject within and between different psychological approaches (i. e., psychoanalytical, social-cognitive, family systems, and self-determination theory). It was one aim of the present study to contribute to the further clarification of the meaning and developmental implications of constructs in two ways: First,

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distinct components of separation-individuation found in previous research (e.g., Beyers et al., 2003) should be replicated. Second, on the level of sub-facets, these components should be investigated in terms of their associations with each other and their associations with indicators of psychosocial maturity. Third, it should be investigated how these associations would express themselves in young adulthood where individuation should have progressed further than in adolescence.

As predicted, of the three components of separation-individuation, Separateness turned out to be the most inconsistent in that the three sub-facets did not show the same associations with other measures and in that the overall associations implied that Separateness can be advantageous to individual functioning but disadvantageous to trustful, positive bonding with parents (and other people). Specifically, Mature Connectedness, Trust in parents' availability, and perceived parental Care and Autonomy-support were all negatively associated with the three sub-facets of Separateness across the three assessments. Also, participants with an avoidant attachment style scored higher on Separateness than participants with a secure attachment style.

On the other hand, Physical/Emotional Independence was negatively associated with borderline-like personality features and Non-conformity with parents showed positive associations with Openness to experience and Need for Cognition which may suggest that Separateness can maintain emotional stability and is driven by an eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges. Also, the associations between the Separateness measures -in particular Physical/Emotional Independence- and Mature Connectedness were not as strong as in previous studies using younger samples and relatively similar measures of relationship quality (Beyers & Goossens, 1999; Beyers et al., 2003; Lamborn & Groh, 2009). This may suggest that Separateness and Mature Connectedness are not two sides of the same coin (cf. Beyers et al., 2003) but are, in some cases, able to co-exist independent of each other.

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In line with predictions, Mature Connectedness showed positive associations with both sub-facets of Agency across all three assessments and Separateness showed positive associations with Self-reliance (although these were only significant in Wave 1). Although the associations between Agency and Mature Connectedness were only moderate ($\leq .30$) and those between Self-reliance and Separateness were weak, they may still suggest that for some young adults, Self-reliance as a belief in the validity of their personal opinion and feeling neither excludes positive relationships with parents nor a certain degree of physical distancing from them and distancing from their attitudes and their own way of living (cf. Buhl, 2008b). A key aspect to make further sense of the interrelations between the three components of separation-individuation might be motivation.

As mentioned in the theory section, in very recent research on motives for Separateness, a distinction has been drawn between two dimensions: 1) Experience of actions as initiated and directed by one's own volition vs. as directed by external or internal pressure and 2) independence vs. dependence of the actual accomplishment of the action on help from others (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2005; Van Petegem et al., 2010a, 2011). A combination of dependence vs. independence and volition vs. pressure might characterize different separation-individuation types that were enmeshed in the correlational data but could be identified in further studies using cluster analytical procedures. These types will be shortly depicted in the following (see also Kagitcibasi, 1996, 2005; Van Petegem et al., 2010b).

Some individuals may not draw on support from parents because they feel like they cannot trust in their parents' availability and will be discouraged by them (= independence + pressure to avoid parents). This would express itself in negative associations between Separateness and Mature Connectedness as well as between Separateness and secure attachment in general, because, according to attachment theory, trust in relationships with primary caretakers affects trust in later relationships with other people. Self-reliance might be

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positively associated with Separateness but negatively with Mature Connectedness in this case because it is likely that Connectedness is perceived as a threat to autonomy while Separateness is associated with an eagerness for knowledge and mastering challenges and maintains emotional stability.

Other individuals might cling strongly to closeness with parents because they seek to avoid the self-uncertainty that occurs when they are left to themselves (= dependence + pressure to avoid distance from parents; see also correlates of foreclosure, which was one indicator of Separateness in the present study; Kroger, 2003). In this case and similar to the first case, negative associations between Separateness and Mature Connectedness and between Agency and Mature Connectedness might occur. In contrast to the first case, the association between Separateness and Self-reliance might also be negative because certainty about decisions can only be experienced through parental assurance.

Taken together, the two differential types of pressure-related motivations for Separateness (i. e., avoiding disappointment by parents or avoiding self-uncertainty without parents), may explain the associations between Separateness and Agency and between Separateness and Mature Connectedness found in the present study: If Separateness is sometimes negatively and sometimes positively associated with Self-reliance, overall this leads to an insignificant or weak association as found in the present study. And if, in both cases (though for different reasons), Separateness indicates an inability to establish a mature connection with parents, it makes sense that the overall association found between Separateness and Mature Connectedness is negative. However, and as mentioned above, the moderate positive association between Mature Connectedness and Agency found in the present study suggests that there might be a third case of individuals for whom Connectedness and autonomy can co-exist without the necessity of guarding an overly strong or overly weak Separateness from parents.

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In this optimal case of volitional independence, individuals should feel like they have a choice to rely on their own opinion and feelings in making decisions because they possess a strong self-belief and because they feel encouraged by parents and accepted for who they are and for what they decide independent of whether they actually do make their choice on their own or with assistance from parents. This should express itself in positive associations between Mature Connectedness and Agency and indicators of emotional stability and positive relationships in general as well as in a positive association between Separateness and Agency. Separateness and Mature Connectedness might be independent of each other in this case because closeness-distance regulation does not interfere with the emotional quality of the relationship.

Placed in the context of development, as it was done in this dissertation, the optimal type should describe a more mature state of separation-individuation than the other two. Specifically, it was assumed in the theory section that (pressure-related) separation would be followed up by individuation that allows for a trustful reliance on parents and experienced support from them as well as strong beliefs in being able to cope with life on one's own and actualize one's individual potentials. These developmental associations between separateness, autonomy, and connectedness have been theoretically proposed in previous research on separation-individuation, but so far longitudinal research has not investigated all three components within one study (e. g., Beyers & Goossens, 2002; Collins et al., 1997; De Goede et al., 2009; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Kins et al., 2009; Mazor & Enright, 1988; Smollar & Youniss, 1989; White et al., 1983;). Causal associations between these components as well as their associations with identity, as a major indicator of psychosocial maturity (cf. Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974), were tested in the longitudinal analyses conducted in the present study. Results from these analyses are discussed in the next sub-section.

Discussion of Longitudinal Results: Cross-lagged Associations between Identity

Development and Separation-Individuation

The conceptualization of individuation as the development of an I within a We (Karpel, 1976) appears to be closely linked to an increasing certainty about who one is as an individual person and in relationships with others (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2004; Greenberger & Sørensen, 1974). In this dissertation, parents and children were perceived as two interrelated identity systems and this framework served to integrate the poles of self-uncertainty (i. e., instability within and between the systems) -as indicated by exploration and Separateness- and self-certainty (i. e., stability within and between systems) -as indicated by Mature Connectedness, Agency, and internalized commitments- into a progressive developmental sequence.

Based on the assumption that exploration is an expression of self-uncertainty (e. g., Kerpelman et al., 1997; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Meeus, 2011) and Separateness a mean to cope with this uncertainty through drawing a distinction between self and other when connectedness is perceived as a threat to rather than a support for autonomy (e. g., Finkenauer et al., 2002; Ingoglia et al., 2011; Mazor & Enright, 1988), EB and ED should predict an increase in Separateness and a decrease in Mature Connectedness. This hypothesis was only partly supported. Only EB predicted a decrease in Mature Connectedness indicating that young adults feel less encouraged and accepted by their parents as a consequence of uncertainty about who they want to be in their personal life. This is in line with longitudinal findings by Luyckx et al. (2007) who showed that EB predicted an increase in the perception of parents as a threat to personal autonomy (measured as perceived psychological parental control) and with research on parent-child conflicts indicating that parents find it difficult to let go of their doubts and controlling behavior as long as they assume that their children are not capable of or ready for taking up adult roles and

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responsibilities (e. g., Arnett, 2004a; Collins et al., 1997; Nelson et al., 2007; Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Thus, it might be assumed that it is the emergence of a stable adult identity that leads to a convergence of parents' and children's recognition of each other as equal adult individuals and allows for a more trustful connection between them (cf. Arnett, 2004a; Buhl, 2007, 2008b; Lefkowitz, 2005; Masche, 2008).

ED predicted an increase in Physical/Emotional Separateness indicating that young adults who try to find out whether the commitments they have made suit them decreasingly long for being or staying at close, physical distance to their parents. Considering the fact that Physical/Emotional Independence was associated with emotional stability but also indicated avoidant attachment, low Mature Connectedness, and low perceived parental Care and Autonomy-support, this result could be interpreted in two ways. First, not only adolescents but also young adults widen the distance toward their parents because they experience parental influence as negatively intervening with their experience of autonomy (cf. Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Perosa et al. 1996, 2002). Second, it might also be the case that young adults who explore their commitments focus on optimal self-actualization rather than fight off emotional stress (cf. Berzonsky, 1992). In this case, a decrease in the longing for physical closeness with parents as a consequence of ED might indicate that individuals have already created a life of their own in which they feel safe to explore their commitments outside the realm of parents' reach. This would be in line with results by Meeus et al. (2005) who showed that parental influence becomes increasingly less important for emotional adjustment with age while ED and IC increase with age and identity commitments become more important for emotional adjustment.

EB, as a stronger indicator of anxious uncertainty about identity than ED (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006), did not predict any changes in Separateness which may also lend support to the idea that (physical) distancing from parents is not a mean to cope with

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self-uncertainty but rather a natural consequence of leading an independent life outside the family nest (see also Seiffge-Krenke, 2009). Furthermore, it was particularly the sub-facet of Physical/Emotional Independence that predicted an increase in self-reliance over time. Similar to the association with ED, this might also support the notion that Physical/Emotional Independence reflects young adult's increasing self-certainty and self-actualization in the absence of parents. Finally, the fact that all three sub-facets of Separateness were positively associated with age while Mature Connectedness was negatively associated with age in the present study, could also reflect an increasing salience and importance of parent-independent life contexts (vs. parent-child contexts) for dealing with identity issues and personal problems in young adulthood (see also Beyers & Goossens, 2002).

Another sub-facet of Separateness that predicted an increase in Agency was Non-conformity. Here the association for Self-efficacy was stronger than that for Self-reliance which is interesting considering that the concurrent association between Non-conformity and Self-efficacy was negative. This may suggest that, on the one hand, conformity with parents as role models can be experienced as a strong safety net for personal actions (cf. Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994) and thereby sustains a sense of Self-efficacy (see also first type of pressure-related motivations for Separateness depicted above). On the other hand, growth in Self-efficacy might be more likely to occur from the experience that challenges can be mastered without sticking to the safety net provided by parents (see also second type of pressure-related motivations for Separateness depicted above). The concurrent as well as the longitudinal association would be in line with Blos' (1967) conceptualization of separation-individuation and Erikson's (1968) stage model according to which guidance by internalized, idealized parents allows for experiencing personal competence and for some degree of independent action but that real autonomy only occurs when individuals experience their actions as being directed by their individual, internal potentials.

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It was further predicted that it is this real sense of autonomy (vs. a defensive Separateness from parents) that should promote Mature Connectedness with parents and that the encouragement and acceptance experienced from parents should allow for a trustful reliance on their support when it is needed. In line with this prediction, Self-efficacy predicted an increase in Mature Connectedness and Mature Connectedness predicted a decrease in all three sub-facets of Separateness. Thus, the present study provided some support for the assumption that the optimal type of an individuated person depicted above takes a course of development in which trustful relationships with parents develop on the basis of beliefs in personal Agency and that these relationships allow for drawing on parents' support when needed because closeness is not experienced as a threat to autonomy.

The negative longitudinal association between EB and Mature Connectedness reported above only indirectly supported the notion that certainty about personal commitments promotes experienced encouragement and respect from parents and vice versa (cf. Arnett, 2004a; Buhl, 2007; Lefkowitz, 2005; Masche, 2008). This notion was more directly supported by the predicted and obtained reciprocal cross-lagged associations between Mature Connectedness on the one hand and CM, IC, and self-coherence on the other. To return to the framework of interrelated identity systems, it might be said that the mechanism of reciprocal reinforcement suggested by these cross-lagged associations characterizes stability within the identity system of the child that is supported by external input from parents and reinforces this input – possibly because parents' perception of their child's efficient autonomous functioning makes them feel comfortable about trusting their child and letting go of their doubts and fears. The parental side in these inter-system transactions will be referred to in more detail in the discussion of limitations of the present study and recommendations for further research.

Self-reliance did not predict change in Mature Connectedness which may suggest

that Self-efficacy beliefs have more relevance to the sustainment and regulation of a sense of individuality in the context of interpersonal relationships than Self-reliance beliefs. Only Self-efficacy was positively correlated with a tendency toward conformity with parents, the personality trait of Agreeableness, and with a controlled causality orientation. This pattern suggests that Self-efficacy beliefs are compatible with seeking interpersonal closeness. On the other hand, only Self-reliance was positively correlated with Separateness and exclusively correlated with an autonomous causality orientation and might therefore be somewhat indicative of interpersonal distance-seeking as a strategy to experience personal autonomy. Distinct implications of Self-efficacy and Self-reliance for individual and interpersonal functioning will be addressed again in the below discussion of explanations for unexpected results.

As mentioned in the concluding remark on the longitudinal results, there were fewer associations between Separateness and identity than between Mature Connectedness and identity (cf. Table 13). In fact, only the sub-facet of Physical/Emotional Independence was significantly predicted by identity components, though not by EB for which the strongest longitudinal association with Separateness had been expected. Also, support for the predicted longitudinal association between Separateness and increase in Agency was relatively weak and inconsistent between sub-facets (i. e., Non-Conformity → Self-efficacy; Physical/Emotional Independence → Self-reliance). In the next sub-section, possible explanations for these results will be presented. In addition, ideas will be provided for how these explanations might be addressed in future research.

Possible Explanations for Weak Associations between Separateness and Agency/Identity

The weak longitudinal association between Separateness and Agency extends upon the emergence of independence and autonomy as relatively independent dimensions in cross-sectional research (e. g., Kagitcibasi, 1996, 2005; Lamborn & Groh, 2009; Van Petegem et

al., 2010b) by suggesting that the emergence of autonomy is also not causally linked to independence from parents, at least not in young adulthood. In the present study, both, Agency and Separateness were highly stable on the individual as well as on the mean level which may suggest that a time span of one year is too short and young adulthood possibly too late to detect changes in agency as a result of parent-independent action. Agency might be strengthened by a gradual accumulation of difficult or challenging life situations that are mastered autonomously. Young adults might already have managed many challenging situations in their personal lives that confirmed and stabilized their agentic self-beliefs as well as their personal commitments so that distance from parents might no longer possess a developmental relevance for the emergence of a sense of autonomy. This would also explain the non-significant interaction between Separateness and Agency on CM: Agency does seem to be relevant for (increasing) identity certainty while Separateness neither on its own nor in interaction with Agency affects change in identity and also shows less overlap with identity than Agency on the level of concurrent associations (see Tables 8 and 13).

The missing longitudinal associations between components of identity and Separateness would be in line with a considerable number of other studies who did not find strong support for a link between Separateness and identity and might therefore allow for the simple conclusion that separation from parents and identity development are two developmental processes that (partly) occur in the same life period but are functionally independent (e. g., see reviews by Meeus & DeWied, 2007; Rice, 1990). Nevertheless, an alternative explanation will be offered in this dissertation that concerns the level of abstraction of the measured constructs (cf. Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a; Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008) and has not been considered in previous studies that used measures for Separateness and identity similar to those that were employed in the present study (e. g., PSI, EAS, EOMEIS, EIPQ).

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In a review of methodological approaches to the assessment of identity, Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al. (2008) drew attention to the fact that conceptualizations and operationalizations of identity (and all kinds of other psychological constructs of which the authors also specifically mention individuation) correspond to different levels of aggregation over time. This means that micro-level, situational expressions of identity in actions, interactions and emotions are different from macro-level, long-term, cognitive representations of who one is in terms of social roles and personal ideologies. Whereas the former expressions of identity mostly happen impulsively, the latter are a result of reflective thought and an aggregation of self-impressions over time.

In the present study, both identity and Separateness were assessed on the macro-level. Specifically, the identity measures assessed situation-unspecific certainty vs. uncertainty about the choice of, the persistence of, and the personal fit of and stability gained from commitments in fundamental life domains. The Physical/Emotional Independence measure as well as the Independent Self-regulation measure basically assessed tendencies to feel homesick for parents, long for physical closeness with them, and call on their practical help and support (the assessment of Non-Conformity is discussed separately below). The salience and strength of these emotional and behavioral tendencies toward seeking closeness with parents can be assumed to be strongly situation-dependent (some items were actually formulated in a situation-specific way, like leaving parents after vacation visits and calling parents when things go wrong). In fact, it appears likely that these tendencies are triggered by feelings of self-uncertainty in specific situations. This would, for instance, be in line with the well-known social psychological phenomenon that individuals seek affiliation with others when they experience emotional distress (Schachter, 1959). Thus, one might conclude that if associations between expressions of self-uncertainty and seeking closeness with parents primarily exist on the situational micro-level, they get lost when general reaction tendencies

and situation-unspecific global self-certainty are assessed as it was the case in the present study.

However, and as assumed by dynamic systems approaches to identity (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001a; Kerpelman et al., 1997; Klimstra et al., 2010, Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008), emotional reactions and interpretations occurring in daily interpersonal interactions may aggregate toward more global and stable representations of identity and relationships over time. Consequently, it might be reasonable to operationalize and measure indicators of identity as well as separateness-closeness as they could occur on a daily basis and in specific interaction situations. Inspirations might be found in previous diary studies on short-term dynamics of identity (Klimstra et al. 2010) as well as in previous family systems studies in which verbal behavior in parent-child discussions was coded in terms of expressing enablement or inhibition of autonomy, separateness, and connectedness (e. g., Allen, 2010; Allen et al., 1994, 1996; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Hauser et al., 1984). In these studies, it could already be demonstrated that daily fluctuations in identity as well as parent-child transactions in specific discussions relate to global identity, emotional adjustment, and ego-development. However, there is no research so far that would have related daily occurrences of seeking closeness with/separateness from parents and self-uncertainty to each other and described and assessed their long-term developmental consequences (see also Klimstra et al., 2010).

Concerning situational specificity, it might be that life transitions that initiate long-term changes in identity, because they are associated with recognizing and actualizing oneself as an adult (cf. Arnett, 2004a; Nelson et al., 2004), are also likely to have short-term effects on self-certainty. For instance, individuals may be much more self-conscious and fluctuate more strongly in their self-certainty during the phase of transition than when they have settled in a certain routine and experienced that they can cope with their new role (cf. Kenyon &

Silverberg Koerner, 2009). In young adulthood, such phases might cover the transition from finishing education to starting a first job, or from a self-focused life toward having a child to take care of, or from co-residing with parents toward living on one's own or with a romantic partner (cf. Masche, 2008).

Concerning the role of parents in these transitions, one could assume that, on the one hand, parents' own life experience as well as the stability that family ties provide (in the face of instability and unpredictable changes in other social life contexts) might represent particularly valuable resources for coping with self-uncertainty (cf. Buhl, 2007, Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009). On the other hand, it might also be these situations in which discrepancies between parents and children in valuations of certain life styles and expectations about the child's future surface and become behaviorally relevant (cf., Masche, 2008). For instance, parents might disagree with a transition because they had envisioned a different life path for their children that should have made up for their own unreached personal life goals (cf. London, 1989; Stierlin, 1974), or because their own socialization has imprinted values and world views on them that conflict with what their children consider as a worthwhile life style (cf. Ochberg & Comeau, 2001), or because they regard their child as too immature for the transition (cf. Collins et al., 1997).

To explain inconsistencies in the tendency to seek interpersonal closeness in distressing situations, Rofé (1984) proposed a utility approach to affiliation stating that this tendency depends on the costs and benefits that individuals expect from seeking help and support from others. These costs and benefits, in turn, are said to depend on characteristics of the situation (Is the situation actually dangerous? Is it embarrassing? Could it have been avoided or can its consequences be controlled?), the individual (e. g., personality, locus of control, gender), and the affiliates (e. g., perceived competence of affiliate to help cope with distress). It can well be imagined how these characteristics might apply to separateness-

closeness regulation in parent-child relationships in difficult phases of life transitions.

Depending on the quality of the relationship (e. g., trust, equality, disclosure), characteristics of young adults (e. g., attachment style, emotional stability, agency), and the perception of the situation (e. g., is the situation actually manageable without help from others and would one lose face if one ran to parents for help?), different micro-level associations between Separateness and identity certainty might occur.

Thus, the Utility Affiliation Theory might provide a reasonable theoretical frame and phases of transition a reasonable time frame for investigating associations between situational changes in separateness-closeness and identity certainty and their predisposition by as well as long-term consequences for the quality of the parent-child relationship and the quality of personal identity. A possible study design for detecting interpersonal differences in intra-personal short-term associations between Separateness and personal identity might include the selection of participants in a life transition about which they share the same vs. hold a different mindset as their parents and to assess frequency and quality of contact with parents during the phase of transition in relation to certainty about the made choice. In the long run, it might then be interesting to see how co-operation or conflict with parents during this phase determines maintenance of and identification with commitments and the achievement of egalitarian, respectful relationships with parents and how this outcome, in turn, affects associations between Separateness and identity formation in a subsequent transition (see also Collins et al., 1997; Rutter, 1993).

Non-conformity with parents, the third sub-facet of Separateness assessed in the present study, was based on a different conceptualization of Separateness than the other two sub-facets. The initial choice of the foreclosure measure was based on the consideration that, apart from interpersonal independence, separation includes an intra-psychic disentanglement from idealized images of parents as omnipotent authorities (cf. Blos, 1967), which could best

be approximated by the tendency (not) to uncritically conform to parents as role models (see also Hoffman, 1984; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). During the course of the study, and specifically through the addition of self-constructed items in Wave 2, that should tap more explicitly into perceptions of parents as ordinary and individual persons, it emerged that it is not the actual agreement or disagreement with parents' views that marks mature parent-child relationships but rather an integrated cognitive representation of parents as persons with acceptable strength and weaknesses with whom one can meet on eye-level. Due to its high concurrent correlation with Mature Connectedness and a similar pattern of correlations with identity it can be assumed that the Symmetry and Weaknesses measure would also show the same pattern of reciprocal associations with identity over time.

On the other hand, one could also speculate that it is particularly this cognitive-perceptive change that emerges only *after* young adults have grown into their adult roles. During this process of identity maturation, they may experience that adults are not perfect just because they are adults but have emerged from a life history that included achievements as well as failings. If they then transfer this newly gained wisdom to perceptions of their parents, this might open up a broader intergenerational and life historical understanding of parents that renders parents' strength and weaknesses and differences between themselves and their parents more visible but also more acceptable because they can be integrated into a comprehensible story (cf. McAdams, 2001; Ochberg & Comeau, 2001).

Whether the causal link between personal identity and a positive appreciation of the relationship with parents is in fact mediated by a widened and more integrative life historical perspective on parents (and on oneself), might be investigated by the use of a more elaborate measure of changing perceptions of parents and by assessments over a longer period of time, preferably over the whole period between early and mid-adulthood in which numerous central life transitions take place.

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It might be difficult to uncover these qualitative changes in cognitive representations of parents and the relationship toward them by the mere use of quantitative measures (which might be one reason why, to my knowledge, no functioning standardized scale has been developed so far). If these cognitive-perceptive changes emerge from a life historical perspective, they include a complex and evaluative reconstruction of where one comes from and where parents came from and how this shaped obligations and restrictions along the life path (see also McAdams, 2001). Qualitative investigations of these reconstructive processes are the subject of narrative research on identity development which conceptualizes identity as subjective life stories people construct to make sense of and integrate different parts of their lives (e. g. McAdams, 1993; 2001, 2008). Concepts and methods from this research might provide valuable tools for uncovering (e.g., Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008; Josselson, Lieblich, & McAdams, 2007; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2004; McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2001) changing evaluative constructions of parents and oneself (in relation to parents) that may explain developmental associations between growth in personal identity and growth in Mature Connectedness.

To summarize, the following might be stated about the operationalization of Separateness in the present study that could in part explain the weak associations with components of identity (found here and in previous studies): Non-conformity might have been an inappropriate indicator of (normative, developmental) Separateness because it did not tap into qualitative changes in cognitive representations of parents. The other two sub-facets of Separateness used in the present study might have functioned more efficiently if they had been assessed in relation to specific situations rather than as aggregated reaction tendencies and if identity had also been assessed in terms of situation-specific expressions of self-(un)certainty.

One final result that needs to be discussed concerns the predicted moderation of the

association between EB and change in CM by Agency. Specifically, low identity uncertainty and high Agency should predict a stronger increase in CM than low identity uncertainty that is not enhanced by Agency. This hypothesis was primarily based on a study by Schwartz et al. (2005) who found an agentic personality to be positively associated with commitment making and an informational identity-processing orientation and concluded that agency and non-agentic individuals differ in the quality of identity exploration. Specifically, agentic individuals were said to explore more systematically and make the most of their options. The interaction effect found for Self-efficacy and EB in the present study was relatively weak but indicated that the combination of low identity uncertainty and high Self-efficacy might contribute more strongly to an increase in CM than a low identity uncertainty per se.

The fact that EB and Self-reliance did not interact in predicting CM might partly be due to the fact that low EB and Self-reliance are both more indicative of the absence of self-uncertainty rather than the presence of an active goal-orientation that characterizes Self-efficacy as well as the information-oriented identity-processing style that, together with CM, self-esteem, and ego-strength (similar to self-efficacy), discriminated between agentic and non-agentic individuals in the study by Schwartz et al. (2005). This would also be in line with the relatively weaker association between Self-reliance and goal-directedness/will power than between Self-efficacy and goal-directedness/will power in the present study. In other words, Self-reliance does not appear to provide an additional push toward actually making and evaluating identity relevant choices, if individuals are already quite certain about what they want.

Furthermore, the cross-lagged associations between Agency and identity and between Agency and Mature Connectedness suggest that Self-efficacy is more relevant for the evaluation of identity as well as for positive interpersonal relationships than self-reliance. It might therefore be recommendable for future research to focus more strongly on constructs

associated with goal-directedness and will power rather than with internal control beliefs and independence of opinion in order to detect interpersonal differences in identity development and relationships with parents as a function of agency.

In the next and final sub-section, limitations of the present study that are not specifically tied to any one result will be listed and possible recommendations for future research that can be derived from these limitations will be highlighted. Afterwards, a concluding statement will be drawn with regard to the findings and ideas that have emerged from the present integrative investigation of identity development and separation-individuation in parent-child relationships in young adulthood.

Limitations of the Present Study and Possible Recommendations for Future Research

On the basis of the afore mentioned article published in *Developmental Review* (Koepke & Denissen, 2012), that covered a large part of the theory section of this dissertation, it appears not exaggerated to state that the major strong point of this dissertation consists of the conceptual integration of two major tasks of psychosocial maturation in the transition to adulthood on several analytical levels in terms of which these tasks have been regarded in relative isolation from each other in the psychological literature. These levels concern theoretical and empirical conceptualizations, descriptions of long-term developmental changes, descriptions of micro-level processes as mechanisms of change, and determinants of interpersonal differences in development. The conceptualization of children and parents as interrelated identity systems was used as a framework to fill these analytical dimensions with content from both fields of research, identity and separation-individuation, and arrive at propositions concerning a causal sequence of development in which components of separation-individuation and identity development functionally relate to each other.

In the empirical part of this dissertation a preliminary attempt was made to find empirical support for the proposed causal associations. It was also investigated how the

content of, distinctions between, and associations between components of separation-individuation and identity development would be represented in a sample of participants that have reached an age where autonomy and identity mostly unfold in parent-independent environments and are highly relevant for psychosocial functioning. This empirical implementation of the theoretical considerations had a number of limitations. First, methodological limitations of this implementation will be discussed followed by a discussion of sample characteristics that may limit the generalization of results.

Methodological limitations: Dynamic theoretical conceptualization vs. Static empirical operationalization. The conceptual integration presented in this dissertation had a strong dynamic, developmental focus and the longitudinal hypotheses were justified by arguments concerning functional associations between separation-individuation and identity (e. g., Separateness as a mean to cope with self-uncertainty and clear space for the recognition of agentic potentials). Despite this theoretical conceptualization, the empirical study described in this dissertation captured static, macro-level associations because simple cross-lagged associations between two assessment points are insufficient for investigating growth in variables and functional relations between them.

Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al. (2008) distinguished between 1) static methodological approaches to identity (or other psychological constructs) assessing associations between variables at one or different points in time, 2) dynamic approaches which describe a variable as a function of time without explaining the underlying mechanism, and 3) “descriptively adequate developmental dynamic models” (p. 376) for which a correspondence exists between empirically observed time-dependent change and a theoretically driven explanation for change. The theoretical part of this dissertation had the aim of proposing reasoned functional associations between Separateness, Agency, Mature Connectedness, identity formation, and identity evaluation that would explain a progression from identity uncertainty

and Separateness toward Agency toward Mature Connectedness and identity certainty (i. e., the theoretical part should fulfill the theoretical requirement of descriptive adequacy of a dynamic developmental model). Unfortunately, due to temporal restrictions, the present study did not possess an appropriate empirical design that could have answered the questions whether 1) increasing identity uncertainty initiates increase in Separateness which in turn initiates increase in Agency, 2) growth in Agency parallels/initiates growth in Mature Connectedness, 3) growth curves of Mature Connectedness and identity outcomes increasingly converge over time, and 4) Separateness decreases as a function of convergence between Mature Connectedness and identity outcomes.

Nevertheless, with regard to the very low number of longitudinal studies that covered both, identity and separation-individuation in young adulthood, it was already an improvement that causal inferences could be drawn in the present study from two time points of measurement. Moreover, some of the directed causal associations (e. g., Self-efficacy → Mature Connectedness; Mature Connectedness → Separateness) and especially the reciprocal associations between Mature Connectedness and identity, are promising enough to be further investigated in studies with more than two measurement points and studies with a higher frequency of measurement (e. g., in order to explore whether Separateness and identity are more strongly linked on a micro-level of parent-child transactions).

To investigate further whether Agency determines interpersonal differences in developmental patterns it would be necessary to cluster variables according to their initial levels and developmental growth curves and show that individual who start off with a high level of Agency are more likely to decrease in EB and increase in CM over time than individuals with a low initial level of Agency. As shown in the theory section, a few studies already combined the analysis of inter-individual differences and intrapersonal change by applying latent class growth analysis to identity variables (Klimstra, Hale, et al. 2010;

Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008) as well as to measures of Separateness and Connectedness (Beyers & Goossens, 2002). These latent class growth analyses should be applied to data including identity measures as well as measures of separation-individuation in order to investigate how these components develop relative to each other within persons and how trajectory classes differ between persons.

Another methodological shortcoming, that also concerns a discrepancy between theoretical conceptualization and empirical implementation, is that parents' perspective on and behavioral reactions to their children's separation-individuation and identity development were not assessed although they were theoretically assumed to explain the initiation of identity processes (through provoking tensions between the child-perceived ideal adult self and the parent-imposed child self) as well interpersonal differences in separation and autonomy development (through inhibition of vs. support for autonomy). In fact, the conceptualization of children and parents as two interrelated identity systems implies that identity characteristics of children are co-authored by parents as well as the reverse is the case (cf. Kerpelman et al., 1997).

In previous research, data from parents has sometimes been gathered in terms of their self-perceived parenting style, their opinion on children's maturity, and their interaction behavior, but this data does not explain why parents act like they do. Parents' reactions to children just like children's reactions to parents do not occur out of nowhere. They are also anchored in an identity system that undergoes its own process of separation-individuation because, as pointed out in the theory section, parents have to accept their decreasing importance as caretakers and the dissolution of their role as omnipotent authorities and some parents might handle these changes more efficiently than others (cf. Kins et al., 2011; Stierlin, 1974). This may, in turn, be determined by how strongly the maintenance of stability in their own identity system depends on feedback from their child. In the *Developmental Review*

article (Koepke & Denissen, 2012), the motivational side of parents' reactions to their childrens' separation from them is particularly highlighted. The article refers to Helm Stierlin's concept of binding modes as a useful device to better understand how tensions in the identity system of parents (i. e., between the persons that they are and the persons' they would have liked to be) may motivate certain actions aimed at binding the child to them and pressure it toward certain identity commitments.

If it may thus be assumed that parents are active agents with identity and separation-individuation issues of their own, it appears necessary to capture representations of parents' personal identity, connectedness, separateness, and autonomy (e. g., whether parents are committed to their role as parents and certain about their identity in other domains, rely on emotional reassurance from their children and need to be needed by them, have a private life that does not revolve around the child's needs, etc.). These representations of parents' identity and separation-individuation should then be related to those of the child in order to gain a deeper understanding of the motivational mechanisms that explain why the establishment of a conflict free co-existence of personal autonomy (in terms of identity systems able to regulate themselves) and connectedness (in terms of exchange between identity systems that support the individual identity standards) is not always achieved and may also fluctuate over time, in particular in phases of transition between different life periods.

In the *Developmental Review* article, two prototypical developmental trajectories of separation-individuation in the transitions between childhood and adolescence and adolescence and young adulthood are proposed, one of optimal and one of disruptive development. These prototypes illustrate potential interaction dynamics between parents and children and their determinants and (long-term) consequences. They could therefore be used to derive ideas about how abstract, higher-level macro structures, like a sense of identity and self-efficacy beliefs, are represented on (and therefore translate into empirical

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operationalizations on) lower levels of concrete interaction behavior and emotional reactions and valuations (cf. Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al. 2008).

Another methodological issue concerns the content of certain measures used in the present study. Above, operationalization-related explanations for the weak association between identity and Separateness have already been discussed but there is another aspect worth mentioning about the operationalization of identity. Although identity was measured with regard to six different content domains covering ideological, occupational, and relationship choices, analyses only focused on EB, CM, ED and IC across domains. These scales with two items per domain (exception: ED = 1 item) were internally consistent and stabilities were not affected by the occurrence (vs. non-occurrence) of critical life events between Waves 1 and 2 that could have been relevant to identity commitments.

Nevertheless, it is quite likely that single critical events in a certain domain might have had an impact on identity in that specific domain, for instance, ending and entering romantic relationships were relatively common events and it could be assumed that these fluctuations in relationship status had a specific effect on how certain about and identified with commitments in the domain of romantic relationships participants felt in Wave 2. Furthermore, associations between relationships with parents and identity, as well as between Agency and identity may differ between identity domains. Possibly, in young adulthood, study- or work-related identity issues are more frequently discussed between parents and children and work roles are more indicative of independence and autonomy than issues concerning romantic relationships that are more of a private affair and shared with the respective partner and friends (cf. Meeus & Dekovic, 1995).

In the present study, one main focus was on the content of distinct components of separation-individuation that has been of much concern in the psychological literature and on their functional and developmental significance for each other and for a global *structure* of

identity development (from uncertainty to certainty to identification). An additional consideration of specific *contents* of identity was avoided with regard to reducing complexity and elaborating very concisely on sub-facets of separation-individuation. However, the successful application of the four identity components to the same six domains in the present study would be suitable for further investigations of domain- and component-specific associations between separation-individuation and identity development and might highlight which identity processes in which domains are particularly prone to influence or be influenced by life transitions and parent-child interactions in young adulthood.

Sample-related limitations: Gender, level of education, & culture. A few sample-related issues should finally be mentioned that may restrict the generalization of results. The great majority of participants in the present study were highly educated, white females living in a Western, post-industrialized country. Student samples in psychological studies are often restricted to these characteristics which also applies to a lot of the studies cited in the theory section of this dissertation (e. g., the two central longitudinal studies on developmental trajectory classes of separation-individuation and identity by Beyers & Goossens, 2002 and Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, & Beyers, 2008). Consequently, it cannot be guaranteed that results would hold across gender, different levels of education, and different cultures.

However, concerning a potential impact of gender on identity development, Côté and Levine (2002) noted that in the scientifically oriented identity literature, no significant differences were observed on the psychological level of identity processes and outcomes (e.g., timing and mechanisms employed in moving through phases of exploration and commitment formation and consolidation; see also Kroger, 1997; Schwartz et al., 2005) which is the level that was mainly addressed in the present study (see previous sub-section). Gender differences in previous studies appeared mostly on the level of content domains in that women's identity

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development relative to men's was found to rely more strongly on relationship issues and tended to be more developmentally advanced in these domains (e.g., Pastorino, Dunham, Kidwell, Bacho, & Lamborn, 1997).

Findings in the psychological literature on links between parent-child relationships and identity suggest stronger links for females than for males (e.g., see Beyers & Goossens, 2008 for an overview) and males without an achieved identity were found to be more likely to score weak on interpersonal intimacy than females (Arseth et al., 2009). Furthermore there is evidence that differences in the impact of fathers vs. mother on sons' vs. daughters' identity development exist (e.g., Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Buhl, 2007; Klimstra et al., 2010). In the present study, participants were not asked to answer the relationship questions separately for father and mother, because the focus was not on differential dyadic relationships but on the one special relationship with a main caretaker or main caretakers that participants themselves considered as most significant.

Nevertheless, taking previous indications of gender differences into account, differentiated investigations of specific dyads should be undertaken in order to show whether and in what respect identity development is affected by and affects separation-individuation of daughters/sons vs. mothers (and vice versa) in contrast to separation-individuation of daughters/sons vs. fathers (and vice versa). In terms of a sociological perspective on identity formation, changes in social conditions for women over the last decades that might have been very different during the time that parents were socialized, could pose an interesting frame for exploring dyadic negotiations of female identity across intergenerational boundaries. Specifically, women have gained much greater access to the public sphere of occupation previously dominated by men and it has already been found that, in contrast to men who chose to deal with the public and the private (family) aspects of their identity separately, women tend to indulge in the complex task of negotiating identity-relevant issues and roles in

both domains (Côté & Levine, 2002).

This macro-contextual consideration leads to a final point of limitation which concerns educational and cultural differences. In the introduction of this dissertation, a strong point was made for social destructurization and postponed transitions to adult life roles in post-modern, post-industrial Western societies and for how these social changes might have affected identity development and the role of parents in young adulthood. This macro-contextualization of development applies to the German sample in the present study (see also Buhl, 2007). Furthermore, in the context of higher education, that frames the lives of almost all of the participants in the present study, multiple and often temporary options for self-exploration and commitments as well as a high achievement orientation may turn successful identity management, based on agentic self-beliefs and an autonomous action-orientation, into particularly salient and valuable resources for psychosocial adjustment (cf. Côté & Levine, 2002; Schwartz et al., 2005).

These developmental characteristics on the macro-social level restrict the theoretical considerations and empirical results presented in this dissertation in so far as any valuating terms to characterize determinants, courses, and outcomes of development, such as *normative*, *optimal*, *mature*, and *central*, correspond with valuations of autonomy, independence, and democracy (in parent-adult child relationships) prevailing in individualistic, post-industrial Western societies and specifically in the higher educated social classes of these societies. On the other hand, this means that one should stay aware of the fact that these valuations might not equally apply to the same phenomena in other cultures, social classes, and social-historical eras (e. g., Arnett, 2004b; Côté & Levine, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Phinney, 2000; Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002).

Concluding Remarks: From Father and Son to Father with Son and Son with Father

To wrap up and hint at practical implications of the theoretical as well as empirical contributions of this dissertation to research on the intersection between identity development and separation-individuation, I will return to the conversation between father and son at the very beginning of this dissertation. As a prelude to the investigations in this dissertation, I posed some central questions concerning the future that could be envisioned for the quarreling father and son and their relationship to each other. These questions were: Will the son succeed at finding his own way in life and forge an individual identity for himself? Is separateness a precursor for autonomy? Is autonomy a precursor for identity commitments? Will the conflict between father and son last into adulthood? How can changes in parent-child relationships in the transition to adulthood be characterized and how do they relate to individual changes?

First of all, and not surprisingly, this dissertation showed that these questions are complex and cannot be served by a clear-cut answer. However, due to the empirical results presented in this dissertation, it might be possible to picture certain circumstances that render some answers more likely than others. Moreover, due to the functional associations between components of identity development and separation-individuation proposed on the basis of the theoretical integration presented in this dissertation, it might be possible to offer ideas about *why* certain answers are more likely than others.

It appears that for the son, a certain degree of physical distance from and non-conformity with his father might reflect his emotional stability and curiosity for new and challenging experiences and is triggered by the motivation to find out whether the relationships, life style, occupation/education, and value orientations that he holds really suit him. Through distance from his father he might gain more trust in his own opinions and individual capacities to cope efficiently with challenges and difficulties in life. This increasing belief in personal self-efficacy should, in turn, promote a feeling of certainty about

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his individual commitments, meaning that he increasingly perceives them as internalized aspects of himself that provide him with a feeling of personal stability and coherence. This process of gaining certainty about his individual position in life might improve the experienced encouragement and acceptance from his father via changes in the cognitive-perceptive representation of his father - from a dominant authority to escape from toward an individual, fallible person to meet on eye-level.

More specifically, he may perceive that his father's teachings evolved from his own, personal life history and that the discrepancies between the views of his father and his own views are not a mere matter of right and wrong but rather a natural consequence of differing personal experiences. The father, on the other hand, may feel released from his role of responsible caretaker and gradually accept the son's differing view on what seems valuable and worthwhile to achieve in life, when he recognizes that his son succeeds at making his way in his own way. Thus, father and son might find a way to value and support each other's individuality on the basis of a mutual, trustful, and emotionally close relationship that also includes relying on each other's help and advice when needed without fearing to lose face.

However, if the son is not driven toward goal-directed action by a strong self-efficacy belief and remains hesitant and insecure about committing to adult roles, this might confirm the father's doubts about his son's sufficient maturity to make it in life on his own terms. He may think that his son should have better listened to him and thus the son might not experience increasing encouragement and acceptance from his father and will probably keep guarding a physical and emotional distance toward him to protect his feeble sense of autonomy. In this case, the conflict between "the same old story" of the father and the new story the son wishes to create for himself - but is not able to put into practice because he lacks the means and drive to do so - stagnates and will probably turn into a same old story itself.

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In the afore mentioned, optimal case, however, the story might be rewritten over time and a co-authorship for subsequent life chapters seems likely. In this sense, the progression from *Father and Son* to *Father with Son* and *Son with Father* might present itself like this:

I told you once:

“It's not time to make a change,

Just relax, take it easy

You're still young, that's your fault,

There's so much you have to know”

But now I see: It was me who was not relaxed, who could not take it easy

I am a dad, that's my fault

There's so much I do not know

So I looked at myself –

I am old but I'm happy

And so I thought it must be true

That what worked for me you'd do –

Find a girl, settle down, get married

I was once like you are now

And I know that it's not easy

To be calm when you've found

Something going on

So I advised you to

“Take your time, think a lot, think of everything you've got ‘

For you would still be here tomorrow

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but your dreams may not”

But, honestly, at your age: Did I take my time? Think a lot, think of everything I got?

I was young that was my fault – so probably I did not.

And you would not be here with me today

if I’d stolen your dreams away

I thought once:

“How can I try to explain, 'cause when I do he turns away again

It’s always been the same, same old story”

Now I can try to explain, 'cause when I do you turn my way

We’ve overcome the same, same old story

From the moment I could talk, I was ordered to listen

But then there was a way and I just went, I went away I knew, I had to go

It was your time to make a change,

I could only take it in so slowly

- I’m a dad that’s my fault

There’s so much you have to go through

And I just really wanted to protect you

That’s why I told you what I see when I look at me

I am old but I’m happy

All the times that I’ve cried keeping all the things I knew inside

It was hard

So it was right not to ignore it

If you’re now right, I can agree, because you respect that I am me

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There was a way and I knew that I had to go away

I knew, had to go

And this is why we now stand here

Face to face - You to me, me to you

Conversing without doubts and fear.

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APPENDIX

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9.2 Complete List of Items in Order of their Appearance in the Wave 1 and Wave 2

Questionnaire

Item	English original version or English translation	Response format	Original source & Scale belonging in present study
Liebe(r) Teilnehmer(in), vielen Dank für Ihre <i>(wiederholte)</i> Teilnahme an der Studie. Bitte lesen Sie die Instruktionen sorgfältig durch und beantworten Sie dann alle Fragen. Sollten Sie bei einigen Fragen unsicher sein, antworten Sie bitte so, wie es am ehesten auf Sie zutrifft. Zunächst werden wir Sie bitten, einige allgemeine Angaben zu sich zu machen. <i>(Einige Fragen werden Ihnen vielleicht überflüssig erscheinen, da die Angaben sich seit der letzten Erhebung sehr wahrscheinlich nicht verändert haben (z.B. Geschlecht und Nationalität), dennoch möchten wir Sie aus technischen Gründen und zur Gewährleistung einer verlässlichen Auswertung der Daten bitten, diese Angaben noch einmal zu wiederholen. Nach Abschluss des Fragebogens erhalten Sie ihr persönliches Ergebnisfeedback.)</i> Viel Spaß!	Dear participant, thank you for your <i>(repeated)</i> participation in the study. Please read the instructions carefully and then respond to all of the questions. Should you be unsure about some of the questions, please respond in a way that most likely corresponds with your person. First, we will ask you to provide some general information about yourself <i>(Some questions may appear redundant to you because, most probably, the information required has not changed since the last assessment (e.g., gender and nationality)). Nevertheless, for technical reasons and for granting a reliable analysis of the data, we would like to ask you to indicate the information once again. After completion of the questionnaire you will receive your personal feedback of results).</i> Enjoy!	instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Ihr Alter	Your age	open	Self-constructed item; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Ihr Geschlecht	Your gender	mc: männlich (male), weiblich (female)	s. a.
Ihre Nationalität	Your nationality	open	s. a.
Ihre Muttersprache	Your mother language	open	s. a.

Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss	Your highest educational degree	mc: kein Schulabschluss (no degree), Hauptschulabschluss (Hauptschul-Degree), Real-/Gesamtschulabschluss (Realschul-/Comprehensive school degree), Fachabitur/ Abitur (Abitur), Studiumsabschluss (university degree), Promotion (doctoral degree)	s. a.
Welchen Bildungsabschluss streben Sie derzeit an?	Which educational degree are you currently striving for?	mc: keinen (none), + see cell above	s. a.
Der höchste Bildungsabschluss Ihres Vaters	Your father's highest educational degree	mc: unbekannt (unknown), + see cell above	s. a.
Der höchste Bildungsabschluss Ihrer Mutter	Your mother's highest educational degree	mc: s.a.	s. a.
Ihr Studienfach & Semesterzahl bzw. derzeitig ausgeübter Beruf	Your subject of study/ current occupation	open	s. a.
Ihr Familienstand	Your family status	mc: single (single), in einer festen Beziehung (in a relationship), verheiratet (married), geschieden/ getrennt (divorced/ separated), verwitwet (widowed)	s. a.
Haben Sie Kinder?	Do you have children	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
Ihre sexuelle Orientierung	Your sexual orientation	mc: heterosexuell (heterosexual), bisexuell (bisexual), homosexuell (homosexual), keine Angabe (no comment)	s. a.

Der Beziehungsstatus Ihrer Eltern	The relationship status of your parents	verwitwete Mutter (widowed mother), Verwitweter Vater (widowed father), geschieden/ getrennt (divorced/ separated), unverheiratet, aber in Beziehung (in a non-marital relationship), verheiratet (married)	s. a.
Wie alt waren Sie, als Ihr Vater verstarb? _a	How old were you when your father died? _a	open	s. a.
Wie stark belastet oder erschwert der Tod Ihrer Vaters Ihr heutiges Leben? _a	How strongly does your father's death strain your life? _a	6-point rating: gar nicht (not at all) to völlig (completely)	s. a.
Wie alt waren Sie, als Ihre Mutter verstarb? _a	How old were you when your mother died? _a	open	s. a.
Wie stark belastet oder erschwert der Tod Ihrer Mutter Ihr heutiges Leben? _a	How strongly does your mother's death strain your life? _a	6-point rating: gar nicht (not at all) - völlig (completely)	s. a.
Haben Sie Geschwister?	Do you have siblings?	mc: yes, no	s. a.
Wie viele Geschwister haben Sie? _b	How many siblings do you have? _b	open	s. a.
An welcher Stelle stehen Sie in der Geschwisterreihe, wenn es um das Alter geht? _b	What is your position in the sibling order concerning age? _b	mc: Jüngste/r (youngest), in der Mitte (in the middle), Älteste/r (eldest)	s. a.
Während Ihres Studiums/Ihrer Ausbildung werden/wurden Sie von Ihren Eltern oder einem Elternteil finanziell unterstützt:	During your studies/apprenticeship you are/were financially supported by your parents to the following extent:	rating: gar nicht (not at all), zum Teil (in part), vollständig (completely)	s. a.
Zur Zeit werden Sie von Ihren Eltern oder einem Elternteil finanziell unterstützt:	Currently, you are financially supported by your parents to the following extent:	rating: gar nicht (not at all), zum Teil (in part), vollständig (completely)	s. a.

Wo leben Sie zur Zeit?	Where do you currently live?	mc: Bei den Eltern (with parents), bei der Mutter (with mother), beim Vater (with father), bei einem/r sonstigen Verwandten (with another relative), alleine in eigener Wohnung (alone in my own flat), mit Partner/in in eigener Wohnung (with my partner in our own flat), in einer Wohngemeinschaft (in a flat share)	s. a.
Wie alt waren Sie, als Sie bei den Eltern/einem Elternteil ausgezogen sind? _c	How old were you when you moved out of your parents' / parent's house? _c	open	s. a.
Wie weit entfernt von den Eltern/einem Elternteil wohnen Sie? _c	How far away from your parent(s) do you live? _c	mc: bis zu 10 km (up to 10 km), 10-50 km, 50-100 km, 100-250 km, 250-500 km, mehr als 500 km (more than 500 km)	s. a.
Wie häufig haben Sie durchschnittlich Kontakt zu den Eltern/einem Elternteil? (Besuche, Telefonate, E-Mails) _c	On average, how often do you have contact with your parent(s)? (visits, phone calls, emails) _c	mc: täglich (daily), 1-2 Mal pro Woche (1 -2 times per week), 1-2 Mal im Monat (1-2 times per month), seltener als 1 Mal im Monat (less than once per month)	s. a.

Im Folgenden geht es um Ihre Beziehung zu Ihrem derzeitigen sozialen Umfeld. Beziehen Sie sich dabei bitte auf diejenigen Personen und Personengruppen, von denen Sie in Ihrem alltäglichen Leben hauptsächlich umgeben sind (Personen mit denen sie zusammen leben/ studieren/arbeiten/ihre Freizeit verbringen). Klicken Sie bitte an: „Gar nicht“, wenn Sie der Aussage auf keinen Fall zustimmen und „Völlig“, wenn Sie der Aussage nachdrücklich zustimmen. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten.	The subsequent section is about your relationship with your current social environment. Please relate to those people and groups of people by whom you are mainly surrounded in your daily life (people you live/study/work/spend your free time with). Please choose the response category “not at all” if you do not agree with a statement at all and the response category “completely” if you agree with the statement insistently. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles.	instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Mein soziales Umfeld gibt mir das Gefühl, zu Hause zu sein.	My social environment makes me feel at home.	6-point rating: gar nicht (not at all) - völlig (completely)	German Personal Sense of Community Scale (Stitzel, Michel & Röhrle, 1999); English translation by the author of this dissertation Scale belonging: Social embedding
Ich fühle mich in meinem sozialen Umfeld oft als Außenseiter/in.	I often feel like an outsider in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.
Die Menschen in meinem sozialen Umfeld kennen mich nicht wirklich.	The people in my social environment do not really know me.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich kann in meinem sozialen Umfeld wirklich ich selber sein.	I cannot really be myself in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe wenig Achtung für die Menschen meines sozialen Umfelds.	I have little respect for the people in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.
Die Freundschaften, die ich in meinem sozialen Umfeld habe, bedeuten mir sehr viel.	The friendships that I have in my social environment mean a lot to me.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich bedeute den Leuten in meinem sozialen Umfeld sehr viel.	I mean a lot to the people in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.
Die Ziele und Werthaltungen der Menschen in meinem sozialen Umfeld sind meinen eigenen sehr ähnlich.	The goals and value orientations of the people in my social environment are very similar to my own.	s. a.	s. a.
Mit der Art, wie ich mein Leben führe stehe ich in meinem sozialen Umfeld alleine.	With the way in which I live my life, I stand alone in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe eine ähnliche Einstellung zum Leben wie die Menschen in meinem sozialen Umfeld.	I have a similar attitude toward life as the people in my social environment.	s. a.	s. a.

<p>Bitte wählen Sie aus, welche der drei nachfolgenden Aussagen Ihre überwiegende Gefühlslage in Beziehungen zu anderen Menschen am besten beschreibt. Selbst wenn von mehreren Aussagen Aspekte auf sie zutreffen, wählen Sie bitte nur eine Aussage aus, die insgesamt am stimmigsten für Sie ist.</p>	<p>Please choose from the following statements the one that best describes your feelings in relationships to other people. Even if aspects of more than one statement fit your person, please do only choose the one statement that generally fits best.</p>	instruction	s. a.
<p>Es fällt mir relativ leicht, anderen nahe zu kommen, und ich fühle mich wohl dabei, wenn ich von ihnen und sie von mir abhängig sind. Ich habe nur selten Angst, verlassen zu werden, oder dass mir jemand zu nahe kommt.</p>	<p>I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.</p>	<p>mc: trifft am besten auf mich zu (matches best with my person), trifft nicht am besten auf</p>	<p>Attachment Self-Report (Hazan & Shaver, 1987); German translation by Aronson, Wilson, & Akert (2008)</p>
<p>Es ist mir ein wenig unangenehm, anderen nahe zu kommen; es fällt mir schwer, ihnen vollkommen zu vertrauen und mich von ihnen abhängig zu machen. Es bereitet mir Unbehagen, wenn mir jemand nahe kommt, und oftmals erwarten Liebespartner von mir, dass ich mit ihnen intimer werde, als mir lieb ist.</p>	<p>I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.</p>	<p>mich zu (does not match best with my person)</p>	
<p>Ich habe das Gefühl, dass andere mir nicht so nahe sein wollen, wie ich es mir wünsche. Ich habe häufig Angst, dass mein Partner mich nicht richtig liebt oder nicht bei mir bleiben wird. Ich möchte mit meinem Partner ganz und gar verschmelzen, was andere manchmal abschreckt.</p>	<p>I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.</p>		
<p>Wer war/en in Ihrer Kindheit und Jugend Ihre Haupterziehungsperson/en? Damit ist/sind diejenige Person/diejenigen Personen gemeint, mit der/denen Sie im häuslichen Umfeld am häufigsten in Kontakt waren und die entsprechend die größte Präsenz in Ihrem Leben hatte/n, unabhängig davon, ob die Beziehung zu ihr/ihnen eine angenehme oder eher unangenehme war.</p>	<p>Who was your main caretaker in childhood and adolescence? Thereby that person or those persons is/are referred to with whom you most frequently had contact at home and who had the greatest presence in your life, respectively – independent of whether the relationship with him/her/them had been a pleasant or more of an unpleasant one.</p>	instruction	<p>Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation</p>

Meine Haupterziehungsperson/en war/en:	My main caretaker/s was/were:	mc: Mutter/Pflege mutter (mother/ foster mother), Vater/Pflegeva ter (father/foster father), beide Eltern (both parents), Großeltern (grandparents) , Geschwister (siblings), sonstige Person (another person)	Self-constructed item; English translation by the author of this dissertation
<p>Bitte geben Sie an, ob seit der letzten Befragung eines der folgenden Ereignisse aufgetreten ist und wenn es aufgetreten ist, beurteilen Sie bitte wie es ihr Leben seit dem Auftreten beeinflusst hat. Klicken Sie bitte an: „Stark negativ“, wenn das Ereignis Ihr Leben deutlich und nachhaltig negativ beeinflusst hat und „Stark positiv, wenn das Ereignis Ihr Leben deutlich und nachhaltig positiv beeinflusst hat. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten. Der Mittelpunkt der Antwortskala bedeutet, dass der Einfluss weder besonders positiv, noch besonders negativ ist. Einige der Ereignisse sind im Allgemeinen mit sehr negativen Gefühlen und Folgen für das eigene Leben behaftet, dennoch reicht auch hier die Skala in den positiven Bereich, denn Unterschiede im subjektiven Empfinden einzelner Personen sind immer möglich und sollten auch in dieser Studie abgebildet werden. Mehrere Ereignisse beziehen sich auf Ihre Haupterziehungsperson(en). Falls Sie beide Eltern/Großeltern genannt haben, kreuzen Sie bitte "ja" an, wenn das Ereignis in Bezug auf eine oder beide Personen aufgetreten ist.</p>	<p>Please indicate whether one of the following events has occurred since the last assessment and if it has occurred please evaluate how it has influenced your life since its occurrence. Please choose the response category “very negatively” if the event has negatively influenced your life in a considerable and enduring way and the response category “very positively” if the event has positively influenced your life in a considerable and enduring way. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles. The middle position on the scale indicates that the influence of the event was neither particularly positive nor particularly negative. Some of the named events are generally associated with very negative feelings and consequences for one’s own life, nevertheless, the scale also extends into the positive direction for these events because differences in subjective experience are always possible between persons and should also be represented in this study. Some of the events relate to your main caretaker/s. If you have indicated both parents/grandparents, please choose “yes”, if the event has occurred in relation to one or both of these persons.</p>	instruction:	<p>Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation Scale Belonging: Occurrence of critical life events</p>

<i>Tod der Haupterziehungsperson: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Death of the main caretaker: Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>Self-constructed item; English translation by the author of this dissertation</i>
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	<i>5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Schwere Erkrankung der Haupterziehungsperson (physisch oder psychisch): Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Serious illness of the main caretaker (physical or psychic): Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	<i>5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Kontaktabbruch zur Haupterziehungsperson: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Broke off contact toward main caretaker: Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	<i>5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Kontaktwiederaufnahme zur Haupterziehungsperson nach langer Zeit ohne Kontakt: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Reuptake of contact toward main caretaker after a long time without contact: Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	<i>5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Auszug bei der Haupterziehungsperson: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Moved out of the caretaker's house: Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	<i>5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wiedereinzug bei der Haupterziehungsperson: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Moved back in with main caretaker: Has the event occurred?</i>	<i>mc: ja (yes), nein (no)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>

<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Tod einer sonstigen nahestehenden Person: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Death of another close person: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Schwere Erkrankung einer sonstigen nahestehenden Person (physisch oder psychisch): Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Severe illness of another close person (physical or psychic): Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigene schwere Erkrankung (physisch oder psychisch): Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Personal severe illness (physical or psychic): Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Arbeitsplatzverlust: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Loss of work: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Abbruch des Studiums: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Abandonment of one's studies: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Studienfachwechsel/Arbeitsplatzwechsel: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Change of subject of study/work place: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.

<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Studienortswechsel: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Change of place of study: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Eintritt ins Berufsleben: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Entry into working life: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigener Umzug in eine andere Stadt: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Move to a different town: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Beendigung einer Paarbeziehung: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Termination of an intimate relationship: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Aufnahme einer Paarbeziehung: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Entered an intimate relationship: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Eigene Heirat: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Got married: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.

<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Selbst Vater/Mutter geworden: Ist das Ereignis aufgetreten?</i>	<i>Became a parent: Has the event occurred?</i>	mc: ja (yes), nein (no)	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
<i>Sonstiges Ereignis bitte hier eintragen (falls keines zu ergänzen ist, bitte "99" in das freie Feld eintragen):</i>	<i>Occurrence of another event – please indicate here (if no event needs to be added, please enter „99“ into the open text field):</i>	open	s. a.
<i>Wie hat das Ereignis seitdem Ihr Leben beeinflusst?</i>	<i>How has the event influenced your life since then? _d</i>	5-point rating: stark negativ (very negatively) – stark positiv (very positively)	s. a.
Im Folgenden geht es um Ihre Erinnerungen an Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen Ihrer Haupterziehungsperson/en in Ihren ersten 16 Lebensjahren. Klicken Sie bitte an: „Gar nicht“, wenn Sie der Aussage auf keinen Fall zustimmen und „Völlig“, wenn Sie der Aussage nachdrücklich zustimmen. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten. Zur Vereinfachung sind die Aussagen für die dritte Person Singular formuliert. Falls Sie beide Eltern/Großeltern als Haupterziehungspersonen angegeben haben, denken Sie bitte beim beantworten der Fragen auch an beide Personen.	The subsequent section is about your memories of attitudes and behaviors of your main caretaker/s during your first 16 years of life. Please choose the response category “not at all” if you do not agree with a statement at all and the response category “completely” if you agree with the statement insistently. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles. In order to facilitate formulations, the statements are formulated for the third person singular only. If you have indicated both parents/grandparents, please think of both persons while responding to the questions.	Instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Er/Sie sprach in einer warmen und freundlichen Stimme mit mir.	He/she spoke to me with a warm and friendly voice.	4-point rating: völlig (completely) – gar nicht (not at all)	Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker, Tupling, & Brown, 1979); German version by Richter-Appelt, Schimmelmann, & Tiefensee, 2003) Scale belonging: Parental care

Er/Sie half mir nicht so viel, wie ich es brauchte.	He/she did not help me as much as I needed.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ließ mich Dinge machen, die ich mochte.	He/she let me do things I liked doing.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie wirkte mir gegenüber emotional kalt.	He/she seemed emotionally cold to me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie verstand meine Probleme und Sorgen.	He/she appeared to understand my problems and worries.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ging liebevoll mit mir um.	He/she was affectionate to me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ließ mich meine Entscheidungen gerne selbst treffen.	He/she liked me to make my own decisions.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie wollte nicht, dass ich erwachsener wurde.	He/she did not want me to grow up.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie versuchte, alles was ich tat zu kontrollieren.	He/she tried to control everything I did.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie drang in meine Intimsphäre ein.	He/she invaded my privacy.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie besprach gerne Dinge mit mir.	He/she enjoyed talking things over with me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie lächelte mich häufig an.	He/she frequently smiled at me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie behandelte mich wie ein Baby.	He/she tended to baby me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie verstand nicht, was ich brauchte oder wollte.	He/she did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ließ mich Dinge selber entscheiden.	He/she let me decide things for myself.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie gab mir das Gefühl, nicht erwünscht zu sein.	He/she made me feel I wasn't wanted.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie konnte dafür sorgen, dass ich mich besser fühlte, wenn es mir schlecht ging.	He/she could make me feel better when I was upset.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie redete nicht sehr viel mit mir.	He/she did not talk with me very much.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie versuchte, mich von ihm/ihr abhängig zu machen.	He/she tried to make me dependent on him/her.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie hatte das Gefühl, ich könne nur auf mich aufpassen, wenn er/sie da war.	He/she felt I could not look after myself unless he/she was around.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie gab so viele Freiheiten, wie ich wollte.	He/she gave me as much freedom as I wanted.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control

Er/Sie ließ mich so oft rausgehen, wie ich wollte.	He/she let me go out as often as I wanted.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie war mir gegenüber überfürsorglich.	He/she was overprotective of me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie lobte mich nicht.	He/she did not praise me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ließ mich anziehen, was ich wollte.	He/she let me dress in any way I pleased.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental control
Er/Sie quälte mich mit Worten.	He/she tormented me with words.	s. a.	Only available in the German version of the PBI (Richter-Appelt et al., 2003); English translation by the author of this dissertation s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie demütigte mich.	He/she humiliated me.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Er/Sie ging auf meine Wünsche nach Körperkontakt ein.	He/she responded to my desire for physical contact.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Parental care
Sind Sie von Ihrer/n Haupterziehungsperson/en in der Kindheit und Jugend jemals körperlich missbraucht worden (nicht-sexuell und/oder sexuell)?	Have you ever been physically abused by your main parent/s in childhood and adolescence (non-sexually and/or sexually)?	mc: nein (no), ja (yes), keine Angabe (no comment)	Self-constructed items; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Sind Sie von Ihrer/n Haupterziehungsperson/en in der Kindheit und Jugend vernachlässigt worden (z.B., durch allein gelassen werden, wenig Aufmerksamkeit, Trost und Lob bekommen, körperliche Vernachlässigung)?	Have you ever been neglected by your main parent/s in childhood and adolescence (e.g., through having been left alone, having received little attention, consolation, and praise, having been physically neglected)?	s. a.	s. a.
Sind Sie von Ihrer/n Haupterziehungsperson/en in der Kindheit und Jugend gefühlsmäßig misshandelt worden (z.B., durch Kränkungen, Verantwortungszuschreibung für Probleme innerhalb der Familie, Androhung, dass man verlassen wird, Gefühl gegeben bekommen, dass man unerwünscht ist)?	Have you ever been emotionally abused by your main parent/s in childhood and adolescence (e.g., through mortification, having been held responsible for problems in the family, threats that you will be left alone, having been given the feeling that you are not wanted)?	s. a.	s. a.

Im Folgenden geht es um Ihre heutige Beziehung zu der/den Haupterziehungsperson/en Ihrer ersten 16 Lebensjahre. Klicken Sie bitte an: „Gar nicht“, wenn Sie der Aussage auf keinen Fall zustimmen und „Völlig“, wenn Sie der Aussage nachdrücklich zustimmen. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten. Zur Vereinfachung sind die Aussagen für die dritte Person Singular formuliert. Falls Sie beide Eltern/Großeltern als Haupterziehungspersonen angegeben haben, denken Sie bitte beim beantworten der Fragen auch an beide Personen. Falls die betreffende Person bereits verstorben ist, beziehen Sie sich bitte auf diejenige ältere Person, die Ihnen heutzutage am nächsten steht.	The subsequent section is about your current relationship with the main caretaker/s of your first 16 years of life. Please choose the response category “not at all” if you do not agree with a statement at all and the response category “completely” if you agree with the statement insistently. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles. In order to facilitate formulations, the statements are formulated for the third person singular only. If you have indicated both parents/grandparents, please think of both persons while responding to the questions. If the respective person has died already, please refer to that older person who is closest to you in your current life.	Instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
(Wenn ich ihre/seine Erwartungen nicht erfülle, bekomme ich ein schlechtes Gewissen.)	(If I don't fulfill his expectations I get a bad conscience.)	6-point rating: gar nicht (not at all) - völlig (completely)	German Conflictual independence scale (Buhl, 2008) based on Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI, Hoffman, 1984); English translation by the author of this dissertation
Ich gebe ihr/ihm für manche meiner Schwierigkeiten die Schuld.	I blame him/her for some of my own difficulties.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Mature Connectedness
(Es tut mir noch heute leid, wie ich mich als Kind ihr/ihm gegenüber manchmal verhalten habe.)	(I still regret how I sometimes behaved toward him/her as a child.)	s. a.	
(Ich versuche, manches, was zwischen ihr/ihm und mir schief gelaufen ist, wieder gutzumachen.)	(I try to make up for some things that went wrong between him/her and me.)	s. a.	
Wenn sie/er sich anders zu mir verhalten würde, ginge es mir besser.	If he/she behaved differently, I would feel better.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Mature Connectedness
Auseinandersetzungen zwischen ihr/ihm und mir, die wir in meiner Kindheit/Jugend hatten, belasten noch heute unsere Beziehung.	Conflicts between him/her and me that we had during my childhood/adolescence still strain our current relationship.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Mature Connectedness

Er/Sie versteht oft die Höhen und Tiefen in meinem Leben nicht.	He/she often doesn't understand the ups and downs in my life.	s. a.	Family Engagement Scale (Ochberg & Comeau, 2001); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale Belonging: Mature Connectedness
Ich wünschte, er/sie könnte mir hilfreichen Rat bieten.	I wish he/she could offer me more helpful advice.	s. a.	s. a.
Auch wenn wir verschiedener Meinung sind, nimmt er/sie meine Sichtweise ernst.	Even if we disagree he/she takes my point of view seriously.	s. a.	s. a.
Manchmal scheint er/sie enttäuscht von den Entscheidungen, die ich treffe.	Sometimes he/she seems disappointed in the choices I'm making.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie scheint zufrieden zu sein, dass ich meinen eigenen Weg finde.	He/she seems pleased that I am finding my own way.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie erwartet nicht wirklich, dass ich die Dinge erreiche, die ich will.	He/she doesn't really expect me to accomplish the things I want.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie weiß noch nicht einmal, welche Art von Lehrveranstaltung ich belege/mit welcher Art von Arbeit ich mich beschäftige.	He/she doesn't even know what kind of course I am taking.	s. a.	s. a.
Die Unterschiede zwischen mir und ihm/ihr könnten niemals etwas daran ändern, wie nahe wir uns sind.	The differences between me and him/her could never change how close we are.	s. a.	s. a.
Manchmal fühle ich, dass ich allem, was mir von ihm/ihr gelehrt wurde, den Rücken zukehre.	Sometimes I feel I am turning my back on everything I was taught.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich spreche fast nie mit ihm/ihr über die Uni/Ausbildung/berufliche Tätigkeit oder Pläne für die Zukunft.	I hardly ever talk about school or plans for the future with him/her.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie würde mir eher die Probleme bezüglich etwas aufzeigen, was ich tun möchte, als mich zu ermutigen, es zu tun.	He/she would be more likely to tell me the problems with something I want to do than encourage me to do it.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie und ich wissen oft einfach nicht, was wir zueinander sagen sollen.	Often, he/she and I just don't know what to say to each other.	s. a.	s. a.
Zu oft scheint er/sie nicht interessiert zu sein an dem, was ich tue.	Too often he/she doesn't seem interested in what I am doing.	s. a.	s. a.
Manchmal bin ich verwirrt darüber, ob ich immer noch an die Dinge glaube, die er/sie denkt oder sagt.	Sometimes I feel confused about whether I still believe in the things he/she thinks or says.	s. a.	s. a.
Er/Sie unterstützt, wer ich bin und wie ich mich von ihm/ihr unterscheide.	He/she supports who I am and how I am different from him/her.	s. a.	s. a.
<i>Ich weiß, dass ich mich in der Not auf seine/ihre Hilfe und Unterstützung verlassen kann.</i>	<i>I know that when in need I can rely on his/her help and support.</i>	s. a.	<i>Self-constructed items; English translation by the author of this dissertation</i> Scale belonging:

			Trust
<i>Ich weiß, dass er/sie mich nicht verurteilen würde, wenn ich in Schwierigkeiten gerate und um seine/ihre Hilfe bitte.</i>	<i>I know that he/she would not condemn me if I got into difficulties and asked for his/her help.</i>	s. a.	s. a.
(Er/Sie hilft mir, mein Geld zu verwalten.)	(He/she helps me budget my money.)	s. a.	Functional independence scale (Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009) based on Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI, Hoffman, 1984); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
Ich fordere ihn/sie auf, mir aus Ärger herauszuhelfen, wenn ich Schwierigkeiten dabei habe.	I call upon him/her to help me out of trouble when I am having difficulty.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
Ich bitte ihn/sie, mir beim Lösen meiner persönlichen Probleme zu helfen.	I ask him/her to assist me in solving my personal problems.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
Ich rufe ihn/sie an, wann immer etwas schief geht.	I call him/her whenever anything goes wrong.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
(Ich frage nach seinem/ihrem Rat, wenn ich Pläne für ein Wochenende außerhalb der Stadt mache.)	(I ask for his/her advice when I am making plans for an out of town weekend.)	s. a.	
(Ich bitte ihn/sie um Geld, wenn ich finanziell nicht auskomme.)	(He/she gives me money when I ask for it.)	s. a.	
Was ich darüber denke, was im Leben erstrebenswert ist und was ihm seinen Sinn gibt, das hat er/sie mir vermittelt; und ich sehe keine Notwendigkeit, seine/ihre Lehren in Frage zu stellen.	My own views on what is desirable in life and provides it with sense were taught to me by him/her and I don't see any need to question what he/she taught me.	s. a.	Selected items from the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Bennion & Adams, 1986); German translation by Kapfhammer (1995) Scale belonging: Non-conformity with parents
Die Art, wie er/sie sein/ihr Leben führt, ist auch gut genug für mich; ich brauche nichts anderes.	The way in which he/she leads his/her life is also good enough for me, I don't need anything else.	s. a.	s. a.

Wenn es darum geht, wie ich meine Freunde auswählen soll, dann weiß er/sie, was das Beste für mich ist.	He/she knows what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich date nur Personen, die von ihm/ihr akzeptiert werden würden.	I only date I date only people he/she would approve of.	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Vorstellungen über die Rollen von Frauen und Männern habe ich von ihm/ihr übernommen. Ich habe nie einen Grund gesehen, diese Ansichten in Zweifel zu ziehen.	My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right for him/her. I haven't seen any need to look further.	s. a.	s. a.
<i>(Ich gönne ihm/ihr ein Privatleben und brauche nicht alles zu wissen, was ihn/sie umtreibt.)</i>	<i>(I grant him/her a private life and do not need to know about everything that bothers him/her.)</i>	s. a.	<i>Self-constructed items; English translation by the author of this dissertation</i>
<i>In unserer Beziehung zueinander stehen er/sie und ich auf Augenhöhe.</i>	<i>In our relationship toward each other, we are on eye-level.</i>	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belongingness: Symmetry & Weaknesses
<i>Ich nehme alles an, was er/sie mir sagt, denn er/sie ist immer im Recht.</i>	<i>I accept everything that he/she says to me because he/she is always right.</i>	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belongingness: Relativization of parents
<i>(Ich weiß, dass auch er /sie schon Fehler begangen hat.)</i>	<i>(I know that he has also made mistakes.)</i>	s. a.	
<i>Es würde mir nicht in den Sinn kommen, sein/ihr Tun anzuzweifeln.</i>	<i>I would never think of doubting his/her actions.</i>	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belongingness: Relativization of parents
<i>(Ich bin nicht verantwortlich für das, was in ihrem/seinem Privatleben passiert.)</i>	<i>(I am not responsible for what happens in his/her private life.)</i>	s. a.	
<i>Ich kenne seine/ihre Schwächen und kann sie akzeptieren.</i>	<i>I know his/her weaknesses and can accept them.</i>	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belongingness: Symmetry & Weaknesses
<i>In unserer Beziehung zueinander erlebe ich mich mittlerweile weniger in der Rolle des Kindes, als vielmehr in der eines erwachsenen Gegenübers.</i>	<i>In our relationship toward each other meanwhile I experience myself less in the role of the child than in that of an adult counterpart.</i>	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belongingness: Symmetry & Weaknesses

Ich habe Heimweh nach ihm/ihr.	I am homesick for him/her.	s. a.	Emotional independence scale (Kenyon & Silverberg Koerner, 2009) based on Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI, Hoffman, 1984); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Physical/Emot. Independence
Nachdem ich die Ferien mit ihm/ihr verbracht habe, fällt es mir schwer, ihn/sie zu verlassen.	After being with him/her for vacation, I find it hard to leave him or her.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Physical/Emot. Independence
Ich rufe manchmal Zuhause an, nur um seine/ihre Stimme zu hören.	I sometimes call home just to hear his/her voice.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Physical/Emot. Independence
Ich wünschte, dass er/sie näher wohnen würde, so dass ich ihn/sie häufiger besuchen könnte.	I wish he/she lived nearer so I could visit him/her more frequently.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Physical/Emot. Independence
Wenn ich bei ihm/ihr Zuhause in Ferien bin, will ich die meiste Zeit mit ihm/ihr verbringen.	While I am home on vacation, I want to spend most of my time with him/her.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Physical/Emot. Independence
Ich brauche seine/ihre Zustimmung, um mich sicher darin zu fühlen, dass ich das Richtige tue.	I need his/her approval in order to feel assured that I am doing the right thing.	s. a.	Self-constructed items; English translation by the author of this dissertation Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
Ich brauche seinen/ihren Trost und Rat, wenn etwas schief geht.	I need his/her consolation and advice when something goes wrong.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
Ohne seine/ihre Fürsorge, würde ich mich im Leben verloren fühlen.	Without his/her care I would feel lost in life.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Independent Self-regulation
(Für seine/ihre Liebe würde ich alles tun.)	(For his/her love, I would do anything.)	s. a.	

Im Folgenden geht es um Ihre heutige Selbstbeurteilung. Klicken Sie bitte an: „Gar nicht“, wenn Sie der Aussage auf keinen Fall zustimmen und „Völlig“, wenn Sie der Aussage nachdrücklich zustimmen. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten.	The subsequent section is about your current self-assessment. Please choose the response category “not at all” if you do not agree with a statement at all and the response category “completely” if you agree with the statement insistently. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles.	Instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Ich bin eher zurückhaltend, reserviert.	I am reserved.	6-point rating: gar nicht (not at all) - völlig (completely)	Big Five Inventory - short form (BFI-K; Rammstedt & John, 2005); English long version (and English translation in this table) by John, Donahue, & Kentle (1991) Scale Belonging: Extraversion
Ich neige dazu, andere zu kritisieren.	I tend to find fault with others.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Agreeableness
Ich erledige Aufgaben gründlich.	I am doing a thorough job.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Conscientiousness
Ich werde leicht deprimiert, niedergeschlagen.	I am depressed, blue.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Neuroticism
Ich bin vielseitig interessiert.	I am curious about many different things.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Openness to experience
Ich bin begeisterungsfähig und kann andere leicht mitreißen.	I generate a lot of enthusiasm.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Extraversion
Ich schenke anderen leicht Vertrauen, glaube an das Gute im Menschen.	I am generally trusting.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Agreeableness
Ich bin bequem, neige zur Faulheit.	I tend to be lazy.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Conscientiousness
Ich bin entspannt, lasse mich durch Stress nicht aus der Ruhe bringen.	I am relaxed, handle stress well.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Neuroticism
Ich bin tief sinnig, denke gerne über Sachen nach.	I am ingenious, a deep thinker.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Openness to experience
Ich bin eher der stille Typ, wortkarg.	I tend to be quiet.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Extraversion
Ich kann mich kalt und distanziert verhalten.	I can be cold and aloof.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Agreeableness

Ich bin tüchtig und arbeite flott.	I do things efficiently.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Conscientiousness
Ich mache mir viele Sorgen.	I worry a lot.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Neuroticism
Ich habe eine aktive Vorstellungskraft, bin phantasievoll.	I have an active imagination.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Openness to experience
Ich gehe aus mir heraus, bin gesellig.	I am outgoing, sociable.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Extraversion
Ich kann mich schroff und abweisend anderen gegenüber verhalten.	I am sometimes rude to others.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Agreeableness
Ich mache Pläne und führe sie auch durch.	I make plans and follow through with them.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Conscientiousness
Ich werde leicht nervös und unsicher.	I get nervous easily.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Neuroticism
Ich schätze künstlerische und ästhetische Eindrücke.	I value artistic, aesthetic experiences.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Openness to experience
Ich habe nur wenig künstlerisches Interesse.	I have few artistic interests.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale Belonging: Openness to experience
Alles in allem gesehen, bin ich mit mir selber zufrieden.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	s. a.	German translation of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSE; Ferring & Filipp, 1996); English version (and English translation in this table) by Rosenberg (1965) Scale belonging: Self-esteem
Gelegentlich glaube ich, dass ich zu nichts gut bin.	At times, I think I am no good at all.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich glaube, dass ich eine Menge Stärken habe.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich bin fähig, Dinge genau so gut zu tun wie die meisten anderen Leute.	I am able to do things as well as most other people.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich glaube, dass ich nicht viel habe, auf das ich stolz sein kann.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	s. a.	s. a.
Hin und wieder komme ich mir nutzlos vor.	I certainly feel useless at times.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich glaube, dass ich zumindest eine ebenso wertvolle Person bin wie andere auch.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich wünschte, ich könnte mehr Achtung vor mir selber haben.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	s. a.	s. a.
Alles in allem gesehen, fühle ich mich eher als Versager.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	s. a.	s. a.

Ich bin überzeugt, dass mir wichtige Dinge, die ich in Angriff nehme, auch gut gelingen.	I take a positive attitude toward life.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich bin mir über meine Werthaltungen nicht im klaren; aber ich versuche herauszufinden, wo ich stehe und was ich wirklich darüber denke.	I'm not sure about my value orientations, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.	s. a.	Items based on a German translation of Moratorium items from the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Kapfhammer, 1995) English original version (and English translation in this table) by Bennion & Adams (1986) Scale belonging: Exploration in breadth (EB)
Ich suche nach einer für mich befriedigenden Antwort auf die Frage, wie ich am liebsten leben würde, und auf ähnliche Fragen, aber bis jetzt habe ich sie noch nicht wirklich gefunden.	I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style", but haven't really found it yet.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich bin erst noch dabei, mir ein Urteil zu bilden über meine Fähigkeiten und über den Beruf, der für mich der richtige wäre.	I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what work will be right for me.	s. a.	s. a.
Menschen sind wirklich sehr verschieden. Ich bin erst noch dabei, herauszufinden, wer für mich die richtigen Freunde sind.	There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich sammle noch Erfahrungen, was romantische Beziehungen angeht. Ich muss erst noch herausfinden, was ich da eigentlich will.	I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me.	s. a.	s. a.
Es gibt so viele Ziele und Ideale, denen man nacheifern sollte. Ich muss mir erst noch darüber klar werden, wo ich selbst hin möchte.	There are so many different goals and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe nicht das Bedürfnis verspürt, über die Wichtigkeit, die ich meiner Familie einräume, nachzudenken.	I have not felt the need to reflect upon the importance I place on my family.	s. a.	Family item from Exploration subscale of the EIPQ (Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Exploration in breadth (EB)

Ich diskutiere oft oder denke auch alleine darüber nach, welche Einstellung ich eigentlich grundsätzlich zum Leben habe.	In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self-exploration.	s. a.	Items based on a German translation of Moratorium items from the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Kapfhammer, 1995) English original version (and English translation in this table) by Bennion & Adams (1986) Scale belonging: Exploration in breadth (EB)
Ich kann einfach nicht entscheiden, welchen Beruf ich ergreifen will. Es gibt so viele Möglichkeiten.	I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many possibilities.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich weiß einfach nicht, welche Freunde ich wirklich suche. Ich versuche herauszufinden, was Freundschaft eigentlich für mich bedeutet.	I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me.	s. a.	s. a.
In Bezug auf meine Sichtweisen auf das andere/eigene Geschlecht, bin ich noch ziemlich unsicher und weiß noch nicht so recht, worauf es mir eigentlich ankommt.	My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe viele Wege abgewägt, auf die ich in meine Familienstruktur hineinpasse.	I have evaluated many ways in which I fit into my family structure	s. a.	Family item from Exploration subscale of the EIPQ (Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Exploration in breadth (EB)
Wenn mir jemand Widerstand leistet, finde ich Mittel und Wege mich durchzusetzen.	If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy

Die Lösung schwieriger Probleme gelingt mir immer, wenn ich mich darum bemühe.	I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.	s. a.	s. a.
<i>Wenn ich an etwas arbeite, bin ich leicht abzulenken.</i>	<i>When I am working on something, I am easily distracted.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
Es bereitet mir keine Schwierigkeiten, meine Absichten und Ziele zu verwirklichen.	It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Wenn ich einen Plan habe, dann tue ich alles, um ihn zu verwirklichen.</i>	<i>When I have a plan I do everything to achieve it.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
In unerwarteten Situationen weiß ich immer, wie ich mich verhalten soll.	Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Wenn ich bei der Ausführung eines Plans auf Schwierigkeiten stoße, neige ich dazu, schnell aufzugeben.</i>	<i>When I encounter difficulties in implementing a plan I tend to give up quickly.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-

<i>directedness</i>			
Auch bei überraschenden Ereignissen glaube ich, dass ich gut damit zurechtkommen werde.	I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Ich hätte keine Probleme damit, hart für etwas zu arbeiten, was erst nach relativ langer Zeit Früchte tragen wird.</i>	<i>I would not have a problem working hard for something that only pays off after a relatively long time.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
Schwierigkeiten sehe ich gelassen entgegen, weil ich mich immer auf meine Intelligenz verlassen kann.	I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Ich setze meine Pläne oft nicht zu Ende durch.</i>	<i>I often do not implement my plans to the end.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness

Was auch immer passiert, ich werde schon klarkommen.	I can usually handle whatever comes my way.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Wenn ich einen Plan verfolge, lasse ich mich nicht leicht durch kurzfristige Bedürfnisse ablenken.</i>	<i>When I am acting on a plan I do not easily let myself be distracted by short-term needs.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
Für jedes Problem habe ich eine Lösung.	If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Ich habe mir oft ein Ziel gesetzt, ohne wirklich versucht zu haben, es zu erreichen.</i>	<i>I have often set myself a goal without really trying to reach it.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
Wenn ich mit einer neuen Sache konfrontiert werde, weiß ich, wie ich damit umgehe.	When I am confronted with a new task, I know how to handle it.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy

<i>Wenn ich mir ein Ziel gesetzt habe, verfolge ich es sehr hartnäckig.</i>	<i>When I have set myself a goal I pursue it very persistently.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
Wenn ich mit einem Problem konfrontiert werde, habe ich meist mehrere Ideen, wie ich damit fertig werde.	When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions.	s. a.	German scale assessing general self-efficacy (WIRKALL; Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1986) English version (and English translation in this table) by Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) Scale belonging: Self-efficacy
<i>Es ist sehr schwierig für mich, einen Plan zu verfolgen, wenn dies erfordert, dass ich momentane Bedürfnisse ignoriere.</i>	<i>It is very difficult for me to follow a plan if it requires setting aside my momentary concerns.</i>	s. a.	<i>Conscientious scale of the Five Individual Reaction Norms Inventory , German and English version (FIRNI; Denissen & Penke, 2008)</i> Scale belonging: Will power/Goal-directedness
<i>Wenn ich mir ein Vorhaben in den Kopf gesetzt habe, dann bleibe ich dran, egal wie lange es dauert.</i>	<i>I can also motivate myself for a tedious job without regular performance incentives.</i>	s. a.	s. a.
Wenn ich mit Leuten über Werte spreche, Sorge ich dafür, dass ich meine Meinung äußere.	When I talk to people about values, I make sure to voice my opinion.		Items from the Commitment subscale of the EIPQ (Balistreri et al., 1995); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method) Scale belonging: Commitment Making (CM)
Ich werde immer den Lebensstil beibehalten, den ich jetzt verfolge.	I will always stick to the lifestyle I pursue now.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe mich definitiv für den Beruf entschieden, dem ich nachgehen möchte	I have definitely decided on the occupation I want to pursue.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich denke, das, wonach ich in einer Freundschaft suche, könnte sich in der Zukunft verändern.	I think what I look for in a friend could change in the future.	s. a.	s. a.

Ich bin nicht sicher, welche Art von romantischer Beziehung am besten für mich ist.	I am not sure about what type of romantic relationship is best for me.	s. a.	s. a.
Das Ausmaß, in dem ich meine Familie wertschätze, wird sich voraussichtlich in der Zukunft verändern.	The extent to which I value my family is likely to change in the future.	s. a.	s. a.
Bezüglich Werthaltungen verändern sich meine Überzeugungen voraussichtlich in der nahen Zukunft.	Regarding values (Original: Regarding religion) , my beliefs are likely to change in the near future.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich erwarte nicht, meinen Lebensstil in der nahen Zukunft zu verändern.	I don't expect to change the way I live my life in the near future.	s. a.	s. a.
Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass ich meine beruflichen Ziele verändere.	I am unlikely to alter my vocational goals.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich bin sehr sicher, welche Art Freunde am besten für mich sind.	I am very confident about what kinds of friends are best for me.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe feste Vorstellungen von romantischen Beziehungen.	My beliefs about romantic relationships are firmly held.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe feste Ansichten bezüglich meiner Rolle innerhalb meiner Familie.	I have firmly held views concerning my role in my family.	s. a.	s. a.
(Wenn du nicht als der Anführer auserwählt wurdest, solltest du nicht vorschlagen, wie Dinge getan werden sollten.)	(If you have not been chosen as the leader, you shouldn't suggest how things should be done.)	s. a.	Self-reliance subscale from the Psychosocial Maturity (PSM) Inventory (Greenberger, Josselson, Knerr, & Knerr, 1975); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Self-reliance
(Der Hauptgrund, warum ich nicht erfolgreich bin, ist, dass ich Pech habe.)	(The main reason I'm not more successful is that I have bad luck.)	s. a.	
(Wenn Dinge gut für mich laufen, ist das normalerweise nicht auf Grund von etwas, was ich selbst tatsächlich getan habe.)	(When things go well for me, it is usually not because of anything I myself actually did.)	s. a.	
In einer Gruppe ziehe ich es vor, andere Leute die Entscheidungen treffen zu lassen.	In a group I prefer to let other people make the decisions.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich fühle mich sehr unwohl, wenn ich nicht mit dem übereinstimme, was meine Freunde denken.	I feel very uncomfortable if I disagree with what my friends think.	s. a.	s. a.
Es ist das Beste, anderen zuzustimmen, anstatt zu sagen, was du wirklich denkst, wenn es den Frieden erhält.	It is best to agree with others, rather than say what you really think, if it will keep the peace.	s. a.	s. a.
(Du kannst nicht erwarten, aus dir selbst einen Erfolg zu machen, wenn du eine schlechte Kindheit hattest.)	(You can't expect to make a success of yourself if you had a bad childhood.)	s. a.	

Ich weiß nicht, ob ich ein neues Outfit mag, bis ich herausfinde, was meine Freunde darüber denken.	I don't know whether I like a new outfit until I find out what my friends think of it.	s. a.	s. a.
Wenn Dinge für mich schiefgegangen sind, war das normalerweise auf Grund von etwas, gegen das ich nichts tun konnte.	When things have gone wrong for me, it is usually because of something I couldn't do anything about.	s. a.	s. a.
(Zufall entscheidet die meisten Dinge, die mir passieren.)	(Luck decides most of the things that happen to me.)	s. a.	
Meine Stimmung kann sich ganz plötzlich verändern.	See PAI Manual (Morey, 1991) which could, unfortunately, not be accessed.	s. a.	Three sub-facets from the Borderline Features Scale of the German version of the Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI-BOR; Groves & Engel, 2007). The English original items are available from the PAI-BOR manual (Morey, 1991). Scale belonging: Affective instability
Meine Beziehungen waren stürmisch.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Affective instability
Meine Stimmungen können ziemlich heftig sein.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Affective instability
Gewisse Leute möchte ich wissen lassen, wie sehr sie mich verletzt haben.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Meine Stimmung ist sehr ausgeglichen.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Affective instability
Ich mache mir große Sorgen, dass mich andere verlassen könnten.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Leute, die mir nahe standen, haben mich hängen lassen.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Ich kann meinen Ärger schlecht kontrollieren.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Affective instability
Manchmal mache ich etwas so impulsiv, dass ich in Schwierigkeiten gerate.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage

Ich kann mit Trennungen von denen, die mir nahe stehen, nicht sehr gut umgehen.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Bei der Auswahl meiner Freunde habe ich einige echte Fehler gemacht.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Ich hatte Zeiten, in denen ich so wütend war, dass ich nicht mehr wusste, wie ich meinen Ärger ausdrücken sollte.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Affective instability
Wenn ich mich ärgere, mache ich normalerweise etwas, um mich selbst zu verletzen.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage
Wenn ich mal mit jemand befreundet bin, dann bleiben wir auch befreundet.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Negative relationships
Ich gebe zu leicht Geld aus.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage
Ich bin so impulsiv, dass es mir schadet.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage
Ich bin ein waghalsiger Mensch.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage
Ich gehe sorgsam mit meinem Geld um.	s. a.	s. a.	s. a. + Scale belonging: Self-damage
Ich fühle mich manchmal unwirklich.	I sometimes feel unreal.	s. a.	Highest loading items from the factor-based Painful Incoherence subscale of the Identity Disturbance Questionnaire (IDQ; Wilkinson-Ryan & Westen, 2000); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method) Scale belonging: Self-coherence
Mein Selbst fühlt sich oft wie ein "falsches Selbst" an, dessen gesellschaftliches Auftreten nicht meinem inneren Erleben entspricht.	My self tends to feel like a "false self" whose social persona does not match my inner experience.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich befürchte, dass ich nicht länger existieren würde oder meine Identität verlieren würde, wenn eine enge Beziehung endet.	I fear that I would no longer exist or would lose my identity if a close relationship were to end.	s. a.	s. a.
Oft fühle ich mich so, dass ich nicht weiß, wer mein eigenes Selbst ist.	I tend to feel like I do not know who my own self is.	s. a.	s. a.

In engen Beziehungen befürchte ich, meine eigene Identität zu verlieren.	In close relationships, I fear losing my own identity.	s. a.	s. a.
Mir fehlt ein Gefühl eigener Beständigkeit über die Zeit.	I lack a sense of continuity over time.	s. a.	s. a.
Mir fehlt ein Gefühl der inneren Stimmigkeit meiner Person.	I lack a sense of inner coherence of my person.	s. a.	Self-constructed item used to capture synchronic coherence (in addition to coherence over time); English translation by the author of this dissertation Scale belonging: Self-coherence
Die Aufgabe, neue Lösungen für Problem zu finden, macht mir wirklich Spaß.	I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems.	s. a.	German short version of the Need for Cognition scale (Bless, Wänke, Bohner, Fellhauer & Schwarz, 1994); English original version (and English translation used in this table) by Cacioppo and Petty (1982) Scale belonging: Need for Cognition
Ich würde lieber eine Aufgabe lösen, die Intelligenz erfordert, schwierig und bedeutend ist, als eine Aufgabe, die zwar irgendwie wichtig ist, aber nicht viel Nachdenken erfordert.	I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much thought.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich setze mir eher solche Ziele, die nur mit erheblicher geistiger Anstrengung erreicht werden können.	I tend to set goals that can be accomplished only by expending considerable mental effort.	s. a.	s. a.
Die Vorstellung, mich auf mein Denkvermögen zu verlassen, um es zu etwas zu bringen, spricht mich nicht an.	The idea of relying on thought to make it to the top does not appeal to me.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich finde es besonders befriedigend, eine bedeutende Aufgabe abzuschließen, die viel Denken und geistige Anstrengung erfordert hat.	I find it especially satisfying to complete an important task that required a lot of thinking and mental effort.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich denke lieber über kleine, alltägliche Vorhaben nach, als über langfristige.	I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long-term ones.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich würde lieber etwas tun, das wenig Denken erfordert, als etwas, das mit Sicherheit meine Denkfähigkeit herausfordert.	I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich finde wenig Befriedigung darin, angestrengt und stundenlang nachzudenken.	I find little satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours.	s. a.	s. a.
In erster Linie denke ich, weil ich muss.	I think primarily because I have to.	s. a.	s. a.

Ich trage nicht gerne die Verantwortung für eine Situation, die sehr viel Denken erfordert.	I don't like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.	s. a.	s. a.
Denken entspricht nicht dem, was ich unter Spaß verstehe.	Thinking is not my idea of fun.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich versuche Situationen vorauszuahnen und zu vermeiden, in denen die Wahrscheinlichkeit groß ist, dass ich intensiv über etwas nachdenken muss.	I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is a likely chance I will have to think in depth about something.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich habe es gern, wenn mein Leben voller kniffliger Aufgaben ist, die ich lösen muss.	I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich würde komplizierte Probleme einfachen Problemen vorziehen.	I would prefer complex to simple problems.	s. a.	s. a.
Es genügt mir, einfach die Antwort zu kennen, ohne die Gründe für die Antwort eines Problems zu verstehen.	Simply knowing the answer rather than understanding the reasons for the answer to a problem is fine with me.	s. a.	s. a.
Es genügt, dass etwas funktioniert, mir ist es egal, wie oder warum.	It's enough for me that something gets the job done, I don't care why or how it works.	s. a.	s. a.
Ich versuche herauszufinden, ob folgende Dinge wirklich zu mir passen:	I try to find out whether the following things really suit my person:		Self-constructed ED items inspired by the Groningen Identity Development Scale (U-GIDS; Meeus & Dekovic, 1996) and the Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS; e.g., Luyckx et al., 2008a; cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Exploration in Depth (ED)
Meine Werthaltungen	My value orientations	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Lebensstil	My life style	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Beruf/Studium	My occupation/studies	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Freundschaften	My friendships	s. a.	s. a.
Meine romantische Beziehung	My romantic relationship _e	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Sicht auf meine Familie und meine Rolle darin	My view on my family and my role in it	s. a.	s. a.
(Ich rede regelmäßig mit Anderen über:)	(I frequently speak with others about:)		
(Meine Werthaltungen)	(My value orientations)		
(Meinen Lebensstil)	(My life style)		
(Mein/en Beruf/Studium)	(My occupation/studies)		
(Meine Freundschaften)	(My friendships)		
(Meine romantische Beziehung)	(My romantic relationship _e)		
(Meine Sicht auf meine Familie und meine Rolle darin)	(My view on my family and my role in it)		

Folgende Dinge geben mir Sicherheit und Stabilität im Leben:	The following things give me certainty and stability in life:	s. a.	Self-constructed IC items inspired by the Groningen Identity Development Scale (U-GIDS; Meeus & Dekovic, 1996) and the Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS; e.g., Luyckx et al., 2008a; cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Identification with commitment (IC)
Meine Werthaltungen	My value orientations	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Lebensstil	My life style	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Beruf/Studium	My occupation/studies	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Freundschaften	My friendships	s. a.	s. a.
Meine romantische Beziehung	My romantic relationship _e	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Familie	My family	s. a.	s. a.
Folgende Dinge tragen zum Gefühl der inneren Stimmigkeit meiner Person bei:	The following things contribute to a sense of inner coherence of my person:	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Werthaltungen	My value orientations	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Lebensstil	My life style	s. a.	s. a.
Mein Beruf/Studium	My occupation/studies	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Freundschaften	My friendships	s. a.	s. a.
Meine romantische Beziehung	My romantic relationship	s. a.	s. a.
Meine Familie	My family	s. a.	s. a.
<i>Die nachfolgenden Fragen beziehen sich auf eine Reihe von hypothetischen Szenarien. Jedes Szenario beschreibt ein Ereignis und listet drei Arten der Reaktion darauf auf. Bitte lesen Sie jedes Szenario und stellen Sie sich vor, selbst in der Situation zu sein. Bedenken Sie dann jede Reaktionsmöglichkeit in Hinblick darauf, wie wahrscheinlich es ist, dass Sie selbst auf diese Weise reagieren würden. Klicken Sie bitte an: „Sehr unwahrscheinlich“, wenn Sie aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht so reagieren würden und „Sehr wahrscheinlich“, wenn Sie aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach so reagieren würden. Benutzen Sie die Zwischenfelder, falls Sie Ihre Antworttendenz bezüglich dieser Pole weiter abstufen möchten.</i>	<i>The subsequent questions pertain to a series of hypothetical sketches. Each sketch describes an incident and lists three ways of responding to it. Please read each sketch, imagine yourself in that situation, and then consider each of the possible responses. Think of each response option in terms of how likely it is that you would respond that way. Please choose the response category “very unlikely” if –by all likelihood- you think you would not react in that way and the response category “very likely” if –by all likelihood- you think you would react in that way. Please use the intermediate response categories if you wish to further grade your response between these poles.</i>	<i>Instruction</i>	<i>General Causality Orientations Scale (GCOS; Deci & Ryan, 1985); German translation by the author of this dissertation and an appropriate group of experts (cf. Method section) Scale belonging: Self-determinateness</i>

<i>Ihnen wurde eine neue Position in einem Unternehmen angeboten, wo Sie eine Zeit lang gearbeitet haben. Die erste Frage, die ihnen wahrscheinlich in den Sinn kommt, ist:</i>	<i>You have been offered a new position in a company where you have worked for some time. The first question that is likely to come to mind is:</i>	<i>Sketch 1</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Was, wenn ich der neuen Verantwortung nicht gerecht werden kann?</i>	<i>What if I can't live up to the new responsibility?</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Werde ich in dieser Position mehr verdienen?</i>	<i>Will I make more at this position?</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ich frage mich, ob die neue Arbeit interessant sein wird.</i>	<i>I wonder if the new work will be interesting.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie haben eine Tochter im Schulalter. Beim Elternabend erzählt Ihnen der Lehrer, dass Ihre Tochter schlecht abschnidet und nicht an der Arbeit beteiligt zu sein scheint. Sie werden wahrscheinlich:</i>	<i>You have a school-age daughter. On parents' night the teacher tells you that your daughter is doing poorly and doesn't seem involved in the work. You are likely to:</i>	<i>Sketch 2</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Darüber mit Ihrer Tochter sprechen, um besser zu verstehen, was das Problem ist.</i>	<i>Talk it over with your daughter to understand further what the problem is.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie ausschimpfen und hoffen, dass sie es besser machen wird.</i>	<i>Scold her and hope she does better.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sicherstellen, dass sie die Hausaufgaben macht, denn sie sollte härter arbeiten.</i>	<i>Make sure she does the assignments, because she should be working harder.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie hatten vor einigen Wochen ein Vorstellungsgespräch. Mit der Post erhielten Sie ein allgemeines Schreiben, das angibt, dass die Stelle vergeben wurde. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass Sie denken könnten:</i>	<i>You had a job interview several weeks ago. In the mail you received a form letter which states that the position has been filled. It is likely that you might think:</i>	<i>Sketch 3</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Es geht nicht darum, was du weißt, sondern wen du kennst.</i>	<i>It's not what you know, but who you know.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ich bin wahrscheinlich nicht gut genug für den Job.</i>	<i>I'm probably not good enough for the job.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Irgendwie haben sie meine Qualifikationen nicht als ihren Bedürfnissen entsprechend gesehen.</i>	<i>Somehow they didn't see my qualifications as matching their needs.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>

<i>Sie sind ein/e Fabrikbeaufseher/in und sind mit der Aufgabe beauftragt worden, drei Arbeitern Kaffeepausen zuzuteilen, die nicht alle gleichzeitig pausieren können. Sie würden dies wahrscheinlich regeln, indem Sie:</i>	<i>You are a plant supervisor and have been charged with the task of allotting coffee breaks to three workers who cannot all break at once. You would likely handle this by:</i>	<i>Sketch 4</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Den drei Arbeitern die Situation schildern und sie mit Ihnen gemeinsam am Zeitplan arbeiten lassen.</i>	<i>Telling the three workers the situation and having them work with you on the schedule.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Einfach Zeiten zuweisen so dass jeder pausieren kann, um Probleme zu vermeiden.</i>	<i>Simply assigning times that each can break to avoid any problems.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Von jemandem in Autoritätsposition in Erfahrung bringen, was zu tun ist oder was in der Vergangenheit getan wurde.</i>	<i>Find out from someone in authority what to do or do what was done in the past.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ein/e enge/r Freund/in (gleichgeschlechtlich) von Ihnen war in letzter Zeit launisch und ist ein paar Mal über „Nichts“ sehr wütend auf Sie geworden. Sie würden wahrscheinlich:</i>	<i>A close (same-sex) friend of yours has been moody lately, and a couple of times has become very angry with you over "nothing." You might:</i>	<i>Sketch 5</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ihre Beobachtungen mit ihm/ihr teilen und versuchen herauszufinden, was bei ihm/ihr los ist.</i>	<i>Share your observations with him/her and try to find out what is going on for him/her.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Es ignorieren, weil es ohnehin nicht viel gibt, was Sie daran tun können.</i>	<i>Ignore it because there's not much you can do about it anyway.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ihm/ihr sagen dass sie bereit sind, Zeit mit ihm/ihr zu verbringen wenn, und nur wenn, er/sie sich mehr Mühe gibt, sich zu beherrschen.</i>	<i>Tell him/her that you are willing to spend time together if and only if he/she makes more effort to control him/herself.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie haben gerade die Ergebnisse von einem Test erhalten, den sie durchgeführt haben und festgestellt, dass Sie sehr schwach abgeschnitten haben. Ihre erste Reaktion ist wahrscheinlich:</i>	<i>You have just received the results of a test you took, and you discovered that you did very poorly. Your initial reaction is likely to be:</i>	<i>Sketch 6</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>“Ich kann nichts richtig machen”, und fühlen sich traurig.</i>	<i>"I can't do anything right," and feel sad.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>“Ich frage mich, wie es kommt, dass ich so schlecht war”, und fühlen sich enttäuscht.</i>	<i>"I wonder how it is I did so poorly," and feel disappointed.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>

<i>"Dieser dumme Test zeigt gar nichts", und fühlen sich verärgert.</i>	<i>"That stupid test doesn't show anything," and feel angry.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie wurden zu einer großen Feier eingeladen, wo Sie nur sehr wenige Leute kennen. Wenn Sie dem Abend entgegensehen, würden Sie wahrscheinlich erwarten dass:</i>	<i>You have been invited to a large party where you know very few people. As you look forward to the evening, you would likely expect that:</i>	<i>Sketch 7</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie versuchen werden sich einzupassen, in was immer passiert, um eine gute Zeit zu haben und nicht schlecht auszusehen.</i>	<i>You'll try to fit in with whatever is happening in order to have a good time and not look bad.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie ein paar Leute finden werden, mit denen Sie Kontakt aufnehmen können.</i>	<i>You'll find some people with whom you can relate.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie sich wahrscheinlich etwas isoliert und unbeachtet fühlen werden.</i>	<i>You'll probably feel somewhat isolated and unnoticed.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie werden gebeten, ein Picknick für sich selbst und Ihre Kollegen zu planen. Ihre Art, dieses Projekt anzugehen, könnte höchst wahrscheinlich charakterisiert werden als:</i>	<i>You are asked to plan a picnic for yourself and your fellow employees. Your style for approaching this project could most likely be characterized as:</i>	<i>Sketch 8</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Führung übernehmen: Das heißt, Sie würden die meisten der wesentlichen Entscheidungen selber treffen.</i>	<i>Take charge: That is, you would make most of the major decisions yourself.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Vorgänger folgen: Sie sind der Aufgabe nicht wirklich gewachsen, also würden Sie es so machen, wie es zuvor getan wurde.</i>	<i>Follow precedent: you're not really up to the task so you'd do it the way it's been done before.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Beteiligung suchen: Sie holen Vorschläge von denen ein, die welche machen wollen, bevor Sie die endgültigen Pläne machen.</i>	<i>Seek participation: Get inputs from others who want to make them before you make the final plans.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Vor Kurzem hat sich eine Position an Ihrem Arbeitsplatz aufgetan, die eine Beförderung für Sie hätte bedeuten können. Jedoch hat eine Person mit der Sie zusammenarbeiten an Stelle von Ihnen den Job angeboten bekommen. Beim Bewerten der Situation denken Sie wahrscheinlich:</i>	<i>Recently a position opened up at your place of work that could have meant a promotion for you. However, a person you work with was offered the job rather than you. In evaluating the situation, you're likely to think:</i>	<i>Sketch 9</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie haben den Job nicht wirklich erwartet; Sie werden häufig übergangen.</i>	<i>You didn't really expect the job; you frequently get passed over.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>

<i>Die anderen Person hat wahrscheinlich in politischer Hinsicht "die richtigen Dinge getan", um den Job zu bekommen.</i>	<i>The other person probably "did the right things" politically to get the job.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie würden sich wahrscheinlich Aspekte Ihrer eigenen Leistung anschauen, die dazu geführt haben, dass Sie übergangen wurden.</i>	<i>You would probably take a look at factors in your own performance that led you to be passed over.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie starten eine neue Karriere. Die wichtigste Überlegung wird wahrscheinlich sein:</i>	<i>You are embarking on a new career. The most important consideration is likely to be:</i>	<i>Sketch 10</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ob Sie die Arbeit tun können, ohne dass Sie Ihnen über den Kopf steigt.</i>	<i>Whether you can do the work without getting in over your head.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Wie interessiert Sie an der Art von Arbeit sind.</i>	<i>How interested you are in that kind of work.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ob es gute Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten gibt.</i>	<i>Whether there are good possibilities for advancement.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Eine Frau, die für Sie arbeitet, hat generell einen adäquaten Job gemacht. Jedoch hat ihre Arbeit in den letzten zwei Wochen nicht dem Standard entsprochen und sie scheint weniger aktiv interessiert an ihrer Arbeit zu sein. Ihre Reaktion wird wahrscheinlich sein:</i>	<i>A woman who works for you has generally done an adequate job. However, for the past two weeks her work has not been up to par and she appears to be less actively interested in her work. Your reaction is likely to be:</i>	<i>Sketch 11</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ihr zu sagen, dass Ihre Arbeit unter dem liegt, was erwartet wird, und dass sie anfangen sollte, härter zu arbeiten.</i>	<i>Tell her that her work is below what is expected and that she should start working harder.</i>	<i>7-point rating: sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Sie zu fragen, was das Problem ist, und sie wissen zu lassen, dass Sie zur Verfügung stehen, um zu helfen, es zu lösen.</i>	<i>Ask her about the problem and let her know you are available to help work it out.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Es ist schwer zu wissen, was zu tun ist, um sie wieder auf die richtige Bahn zu bringen.</i>	<i>It's hard to know what to do to get her straightened out.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Ihr Unternehmen hat Sie auf eine Position in einer Stadt befördert, die weit von ihrem derzeitigen Standort entfernt liegt. Wenn Sie über den Umzug nachdenken, würden Sie sich wahrscheinlich:</i>	<i>Your company has promoted you to a position in a city far from your present location. As you think about the move you would probably:</i>	<i>Sketch 12</i>	<i>s. a.</i>

<i>Interessiert fühlen an der neuen Herausforderung und gleichzeitig etwas nervös.</i>	<i>Feel interested in the new challenge and a little nervous at the same time.</i>	7-point rating: <i>sehr unwahrscheinlich (very unlikely) – sehr wahrscheinlich (very likely)</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Aufgeregt fühlen wegen des höheren Status und Gehaltes, der/das damit verbunden ist.</i>	<i>Feel excited about the higher status and salary that is involved.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
<i>Gestresst und ängstlich fühlen wegen der aufkommenden Veränderungen.</i>	<i>Feel stressed and anxious about the upcoming changes.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>	<i>s. a.</i>
Vielen Dank für den Abschluss des Fragebogens! Falls Sie an der Verlosung der Amazon-Gutscheine teilnehmen möchten, geben Sie bitte nachfolgend Ihre E-Mail Adresse an. Diese wird getrennt von Ihren Fragebogendaten gespeichert. Wenn Sie nicht teilnehmen wollen, tragen Sie bitte "99" in das E-Mail-Feld ein.	Thank you for the completion of the questionnaire! If you wish to take part in the lottery that gives you the chance to win an amazon-voucher, please indicate your email address in the following open text field. If you do not wish to take part, please type "99" into the field.		Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Ihre E-Mail Adresse für die Verlosung lautet:	My email address for the lottery is:	open	Self-constructed item; English translation by the author of this dissertation
Falls Sie irgendwelche Anmerkungen zu dem gerade ausgefüllten Fragebogen haben, können Sie diese hier als Rückmeldung hinterlassen. Tragen Sie ansonsten in dieses Feld bitte einfach "99" ein.	If you have any remarks about the questionnaire you just filled in, you can leave them as a feedback in the following open text field. Otherwise, please type "99" into the field.	open	s.a.
Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme! Im Anschluss erhalten Sie Ihr persönliches Ergebnisfeedback.	Thank you for your participation! You will now receive your personal results feedback.	instruction	Self-constructed instruction; English translation by the author of this dissertation

Note. Items and formulations in italics were only used in Wave 2; Items that were excluded from statistical analyses are in bold brackets

^a This question was only asked if the participant had indicated that his/her father/mother is widowed.

^b This question was only asked if the participant had indicated that he/she has siblings.

^c This question was only asked if the participant had indicated that he/she does not live with both parents or his/her father or his/her mother.

^d This was question was only asked if the participant had indicated that the respective critical life event has occurred during the time between assessments.

^e This question was only asked if the participant had indicated that he/she is currently in a romantic relationship or married.

9.3 Demographic Characteristics of the Longitudinal Sample (N = 358)

Variable	Wave	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mdn</i>
<i>Age</i>	1	19	34	24.35	3.06	24
	2	20	36	25.23	3.12	
<i>Age when moved out</i> (<i>n</i> = 319)	1	12	27	19.42	1.94	19
	2	12	28	19.46	2.09	19
FREQUENCIES						
<i>Gender</i>	1 & 2	Female: 289; Male:69				
<i>Nationality</i>	1 & 2	German: 342; Swiss: 2; Russian: 2; Polish: 2; French, Italian, Dutch, Austrian, Romanian, Swedish, Slovakian, Spanish, North American, Estonian: 1 each				
<i>Highest educational degree obtained</i>	1	Hauptschule: 1; Realschule: 1; Fach-/Abitur: 264; University degree: 91; PhD: 1				
	2	Hauptschule: 1; Realschule: 1; Fach-/Abitur: 231; University degree: 123; PhD: 2				
<i>Currently pursued educational degree</i>	1	None: 22; Fach-/Abitur: 2; University degree: 295; PhD: 39				
	2	None: 35; Fach-/Abitur: 1; University degree: 280; PhD: 42				
<i>Father's highest educational degree obtained</i>	1	None: 4; Hauptschule: 29; Realschule: 94; Fach-/Abitur: 41; University degree: 161; PhD: 29				
	2	None: 2; Hauptschule: 33; Realschule: 88; Fach-/Abitur: 43; University degree: 163; PhD: 29				
<i>Mother's highest educational degree obtained</i>	1	None: 3; Hauptschule: 28; Realschule: 105; Fach-/Abitur: 59; University degree: 144 PhD: 19				
	2	None: 3; Hauptschule: 29; Realschule: 101; Fach-/Abitur: 54; University degree: 150 PhD: 21				
<i>Family status</i>	1	Single: 157; In relationship: 172; Married: 25; Divorced/Separated: 4				
	2	Single: 147; In relationship: 177; Married: 31; Divorced/Separated: 3				
<i>Children</i>	1	No: 334 Yes: 24				
	2	No: 325 Yes: 33				
<i>Sexual orientation</i>	1	Heterosexual: 299; Bisexual: 22; Homosexual: 19; No comment: 18				
	2	Heterosexual: 291; Bisexual: 25; Homosexual: 19; No comment: 23				
<i>Parents' relationship status</i>	1	Married: 234; Divorced/Separated: 99; In a non-marital relationship: 4 Widowed mother: 18; Widowed father: 3				
	2	Married: 227; Divorced/Separated: 106; In a non-marital relationship: 5 Widowed mother: 17; Widowed father: 3				
<i>Age when father died</i>	1	0-10: 6; 11-18: 6; 19-29: 6				
	2	0-10: 6; 11-18: 6; 19-29: 8				
<i>Age when mother died</i>	1 & 2	19: 1; 20: 2				
<i>Abuse by parents</i>	1	Physical: Yes: 9; No: 336; No comment: 13 / Neglect: Yes: 45; No: 295; No comment: 18 / Emotional Abuse: Yes: 65; No: 271; No comment: 22				
	2	Physical: Yes: 11; No: 341; No comment: 6 / Neglect: Yes: 50; No: 298; No comment: 10 / Emotional Abuse: Yes: 71; No: 276; No comment: 11				
<i>Siblings</i>	1 & 2	No:57; Yes: 301				
<i>Number of siblings</i>	1 & 2	1: 176; 2: 71; 3: 35; 4: 8; 5: 5; 6: 2; 7: 3; 9: 1				
<i>Rank in sibling order</i>	1 & 2	Youngest: 134; Middle: 50; Eldest: 117				

<i>Financial support by parents during studies/apprenticeship</i>	1	Not at all: 45; Partly: 197; completely: 116
	2	Not at all: 43; Partly: 208; completely: 107
<i>Current financial support by parents</i>	1	Not at all: 111; Partly: 154; Completely: 93
	2	Not at all: 124; Partly: 160; Completely: 74
<i>Residence</i>	1	With parents: 32; with mother: 7; with father: 1; with another relative: 2; alone: 90; with partner: 101; flat share: 125
	2	With parents: 30; with mother: 5; with father: 3; with another relative: 1; alone: 92; with partner: 109; flat share: 118
<i>Distance from parental home</i>	1	Up to 10 km: 45; 10-50 km: 63; 50-100 km: 12; 100-250 km: 41; 250-500 km: 74; more than 500 km: 83
	2	Up to 10 km: 51; 10-50 km: 58; 50-100 km: 12; 100-250 km: 43; 250-500 km: 64; more than 500 km: 92
<i>Frequency of contact with parents</i>	1	Daily: 44; Once to twice per week: 203; Once to twice per month: 55; less than once per month: 16
	2	Daily: 38; Once to twice per week: 192; Once to twice per month: 76; less than once per month: 14
<i>Main parent</i>	1	Mother/Foster mother: 138; Father/Foster father: 9; Both parents: 198; Grandparents: 2; Siblings: 10; Another person: 1
	2	Mother/Foster mother: 142; Father/Foster father: 9; Both parents: 194; Grandparents: 3; Siblings: 10
<i>Occurrence of critical life events</i>	Between Waves 1 & 2	Death of main caretaker: 8; Severe illness of main caretaker: 51; Cut contact toward main caretaker: 21; Reuptake of contact toward main caretaker: 21; Moved out of caretaker's/s' house: 83; Moved back into caretaker's/s' house: 21; Death of another close person: 66; Severe illness of another close person: 70; Personal severe illness: 43; Loss of work place: 21; Abandoned studies: 19; Changed subject of studies: 83; Changed place of study: 61; Entered working life: 69; Moved to different town: 87; Termination of an intimate relationship: 105; Entered an intimate relationship: 99; Got married: 14; Became a parent: 14; Other events (free text): 69